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Leningrad Delegation Ends Plovdiv Visit

AU2210211688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Plovdiv party organization, a delegation of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee has been visiting Plovdiv Oblast. The delegation was led by Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom.

During the talks with Panteley Pachov, first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee, a considerable expansion was confirmed in the cooperation between the two oblasts in the economy and in scientific and technical links. At present, more than 110 enterprises and organizations in the two cities are participating in the fulfillment of the Program for Scientific, Technical, and Production Cooperation Between Leningrad and Plovdiv Until 1990.

It was decided to establish links between the Leningrad Party School and the Plovdiv Branch of the Social Sciences and Social Management Academy of the BCP Central Committee and between the towns of the two oblasts, and to expand cooperation between the media in the oblasts.

Today the delegation departed Bulgaria.

Atanasov Receives CEMA Bank Head

AU1710194388 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Albert Belichenko, chairman of the Moscow-based International Investment Bank (I.I.B.) of the C.M.E.A. member countries.

They discussed the possibilities for a further expansion and promotion of I.I.B.'s cooperation with Bulgarian enterprises and banks and for strengthening their integration ties with enterprises in the fraternal countries.

Filipov Meets Jakes, Returns to Sofia

AU2110193888 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes received Comrade Grisha Filipov in Prague. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Milos Jakes briefed his guest on the fulfillment of the tasks assigned by the Ninth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and on the decisions adopted at the plenum dealing with the party's ideological work.

Information was exchanged on the policy conducted by the CPCZ and the BCP in the process of restructuring economic and social life in the two countries. Certain questions were discussed pertaining to the implementation of the long-term program on economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Bulgaria and the CSSR for the period up to 2000.

Later in the day, the Bulgarian delegation, headed by Comrade Grisha Filipov, returned to Bulgaria.

Balev Meets Cuban Party Functionary Lopez

AU2110205688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 21 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Milko Balev received Hugo Lopez, responsible functionary of the Communist Party of Cuba, who is visiting our country in connection with the implementation of the cooperation plans between the two parties.

Mladenov Receives New Algerian Ambassador

AU1910132288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] In Sofia on 13 October Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, received Zine El Abidine Hachichi, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to Bulgaria.

Bulgarian-U.S. Economic Council Session Held

AU2010194888 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Bulgaro-American Cooperation: On an Equal and Mutually Beneficial Basis"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—A constituent assembly of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgaro-American Trade and Economic Council was held today. Mr. Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations was chosen for its chairman.

Fifty Bulgarian associations, economic associations, banks, foreign trade companies, etc, interested to promote relations with U.S. companies on an equal, mutually beneficial and long-term basis became founder-members.

The statute includes alongside with the aims and tasks of the section also initiatives for the encouragement of bilateral relations in by the traditional trade exchange and by using of various types of production and technical and market cooperation.

The two sides stressed upon the positive role of the Bulgaro-American Trade and Economic Council, which in the short period of its existence managed to become a prestigeous platform for a constructive dialogue between the two countries' interested companies and organizations. A working programme of the section was adopted with concrete directions for the future work and measures for development and expansion of economic cooperation in the sphere of joint investments, banking and promotion of trade contacts. Special attention was paid to the possibilities for cooperation in the training, education and qualification of foreign trade and economic cadres.

'New Forms of Cooperation' With Dow Established
AU1810181688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Oct 88 p 7

[Petur Gornenski article: "Meeting Point of Mutual Interests"]

[Excerpts] The strengthening of trust and deepening of cooperation between East and West has also found concrete expression in the stimulation of economic relations between Bulgaria and the United States. Last year a joint Bulgarian-American Trade and Economic Council was founded in Sofia. At the council's second session in New York early this summer, specific measures were discussed for further improving mutual trading and economic links. Considerable prospects were opened up for setting up joint enterprises, for U.S. firms to participate in the Bulgarian duty-free zones, and for joint activity in third markets. The Bulgarian-American association Chimtrade [Khimtreyd] provides a striking example of the good results from the application of new forms of cooperation.

Chimtrade was set up in 1984. [passage omitted] Its priority tasks are as follows: the production of polyurethane systems, using technologies and raw materials from Dow Chemical; making investments and providing credits in various branches of the Bulgarian economy; and carrying out the international marketing of Bulgarian industrial products. [passage omitted]

What are the specific advantages of this joint activity? Trifon Iliev, director of Chimtrade, provides an answer:

The Chimtrade association is a partnership between Khimimport, the "Verila" economic trust, and Khimkomplekt on the Bulgarian side, and the Dow Chemical concern on the American side. Chimtrade plays the role of coordinator and promoter in the manufacture and marketing of highly efficient products. We protect the interests of both sides to the same degree—this is a very important feature of our functions as a bridge between Dow Chemical's rich experience and possibilities and the development of individual sectors of our industry.

"What is the picture like in practice? First of all, we have to find partners with whom we will work to provide credits and arrange the import of technologies, equipment, and raw materials; and, finally, we have to organize the marketing of the finished product. The profits are divided equally. One particularly important point is that a part of Dow Chemical's profit remains in Bulgaria, to be used to expand the investments of Chimtrade. In this way, the association will become stronger and expand its activity through new efficient types of production."

"Chimtrade's commercial projects are in several main directions," added Dimitur Minkov, deputy director of the association, "covering the fields of electronics, machine building, chemistry for everyday purposes, agriculture, and industry for man. To sum up, one may say that Chimtrade lends a hand to Bulgarian industry, to help it further improve its production technologies and sell its products in new markets."

Delegation Signs Accords, Leaves Tokyo
AU2210202188 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 22 Oct 88

["Bulgaria, Japan: Prospects for Broadening of Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Tokyo, October 22 (BTA corr.)—The Bulgarian economic delegation headed by Mr Petko Danchev, chairman of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association and cochairman of the Bulgaro-Japanese Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, left Tokyo today. The numerous meetings and talks which were held during the 11-day visit, as well as the signed documents created conditions for further broadening of the mutually advantageous economic relations between Bulgaria and Japan and for their diversifying with new modern forms of cooperation.

At meetings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry of Japan, in the talks with the chairmen of the Societies for Friendship with Bulgaria in the two chambers of parliament, as well as with other renowned parliamentarians were discussed the state and prospects for development of the Bulgaro-Japanese economic relations.

Five general agreements for long-term economic and techno-scientific cooperation were signed at the time of the visit with a number of big Japanese companies like Marubeni, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Mitsui, and another four agreements, which embody concrete schemes for realization and financing of a group of projects in the sphere of chemistry, biotechnologies, pharmaceuticals and the production of polymers were also signed. It was coordinated to study the conditions for the establishing of joint trade companies as a new form of long-term market cooperation and the contract for the foundation of a joint society with Marubeni in the sphere of pharmaceuticals was endorsed.

The opportunities for broadening of the relations on the basis of new, modern forms in spheres like agriculture, non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, house construction and the production of consumer goods were discussed.

Private Farms Mean Abundance in Budapest

AU2110115388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 88 p 4

[Excerpt] Budapest, 19 October (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Milan Angelov)—It is pleasant to visit the markets and stores for agricultural products in Budapest. The counters are loaded with fruit, vegetables, and fresh meat of all kinds. Moreover, it is like this every day—it is as if the stores have been set up for an exhibition. One always asks oneself the question: Where does this abundance come from?

As early as 1976, the official assessment showed that production from cooperative and state farms was insufficient to fully meet the needs of domestic and export markets. An order issued then by the Council of Ministers opened the way for individual agricultural initiative. Land for individual use was given not only to the cooperative workers, according to the number of workdays they had put in during the preceding year, but also allocated to workers in the state farms and industry, white-collar employees, and pensioners—in short, to everyone who was able and wanted to work. Now over 30 percent of agricultural production comes from small producers, who comprise about 1.5 million of the 3.2 million families in the country. One half of the "small producers," as they are called here, work to satisfy their personal needs, while the rest deliver their products to the market.

The state promotes individual initiative by providing animal feed, animals for raising, highgrade seeds, and planting materials. A country-wide network of 6,500 stores supplies producers with feed mixes for small and large cattle raised in private farmyards, as well as seeds and plant protection agents. Two artificial fertilizer plants make the whole of their production available to individual producers. Now every fifth small producer owns his own mechanical equipment: a small tractor, hay mower, platform lift truck, and so on. Various forms of cooperation exist between the individual farmers and the agricultural cooperatives, state farms, and trading cooperatives and organizations that purchase and process the products, but the contract is the most widely used form.

Now, small producers provide 70 percent of vegetables, 66 percent of fruit, 59 percent of pork, 43 percent of poultry meat, 25 percent of lamb and mutton, and 60 percent of small animals. The volume of this production is equal in value to Hungarian agricultural exports. [passage omitted]

Control Commission Plenum Discusses Implementation

AU1710224588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Oct 88 p 6

[Nikolina Yambolieva report: "With Requirements of Renewal"]

[Excerpts] An expanded plenum of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission [CCAC] took place on 13 October. It discussed the tasks of the CCAC and the other BCP control-auditing organs in implementing the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July plenum and the BCP National Conference, as well as organizational matters.

The report read by Nacho Papazov, CCAC chairman, analyzed CCAC activity during the period since its last plenum—a period of dynamic changes in our society's comprehensive life, which created conditions for implementing the July Concept on constructing socialism in Bulgaria.

The files of penalized Communists occupied a significant place in the activity of the CCAC and its bureau. Alarming reflections were prompted by the rate of confirmed, canceled, and amended penalties on the part of the CCAC Bureau, which decided on 165 files at its meetings. The reasons for the high rate of canceled or amended penalties, as analyzed by the CCAC, evoked certain alarming conclusions: A formal and indifferent attitude in imposing penalties is often evident; facts related to the specific cases have not always been profoundly studied; malicious accusations in an attempt to slander and compromise have been established; and the defense of leaders and party members who withhold principled positions has often been insufficient and meek. Many specific examples have been cited. [passage omitted]

It was pointed out that the old shortcomings have not been eliminated despite efforts to effect a turning point. The terms of checking and replying have not always been observed, the necessary attention and sympathy toward people have not always been shown, and the issue of feedback information has not been solved. The attitude of the representatives of the administration of the "Bulgarian Civil Aviation" economic trust toward the parents affected by the aircraft disaster was pointed out as a typical example of indifference, bureaucracy, and lack of a humane approach. [passage omitted]

Internal party life and its further democratization as one of the most important conditions for implementing the leading role of the party is constantly in the center of attention of the CCAC and the other control-auditing commissions. Developing democracy and expanding glasnost in their activity were reviewed in closest relation to increasing the efficiency of their decisions. [passage omitted]

The speaker pointed out that the control-auditing organs cannot overlook the facts of violating party and state discipline, and crudely infringing upon the Leninist norms, style of work, and leadership. They must interfere or prompt the interference of the appropriate state control organs, when leading cadres or leaderships of state, economic, and public organs and organizations allow stagnation and tolerate violations of law and discipline.

Following the lively debate related to the report and the problems discussed, the plenum adopted a decision on the main directions of renewing the activity of the control-auditing organs.

Commission Addresses 'Urgent Social Problems'

AU1810165288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 88 p 2

[Mitko Bozhhkov report: "Concern and Strictness"]

[Excerpts] The National Assembly Permanent Commission on the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights, a small "parliament," held a session yesterday. Urgent social problems were included on the agenda. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly attended the session.

At the beginning two documentary films were shown which illustrated part of the wide range of activities in connection with applying the Law on the Struggle Against Anti-Social Acts of Minors. Facts, data, conclusions, and such complemented the report of the working group. Nacho Papazov, National Assembly Deputy and chairman of this group stressed in his introductory speech: "The picture is rather gloomy. How can we explain the fact that unjustified passivity and lack of interest still prevail over this problem which affects our country's whole future?!" [passage omitted].

Several National Assembly deputies, public figures, teachers, and representatives of judicial and defense organs took the floor on the subject. Each of them expressed his own arguments, accepted or disputed certain facts and conclusions, and submitted recommendations on how to neutralize the following alarming trends:

An increase in antisocial manifestations on the part of adolescents, especially in large cities.

The fact that crimes are becoming increasingly serious and are frequently committed by organized groups.

The fact that the number of alcoholics, drug addicts, and idlers among young people is increasing. [passage omitted].

It has been established that a coordinating organ on the state level dealing with problems families and children is urgently required.

Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Permanent Commission for the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights pointed out: "We should not act in an unprofessional manner as in the past, but base our actions on a solid and scientific basis, on serious analysis, and thorough research."

Following this, the situation of bread supplies, bread products, and bread production and trade was discussed for the third time within 18 months. The detailed report of the working group in charge of these problems, headed by National Assembly Deputy Lyuben Stefanov, was devoted to this issue. Concern has been expressed once more than once on this subject—the measures adopted are not being comprehensively implemented. It was announced that the total solution of the problem will be achieved as a result of a draft document which the government is expected to adopt.

The National Assembly deputies approved the two following proposals:

Proposal to the chairman of the State Council on amendments and addenda to the decree on encouraging an increase in the birth rate.

Proposal to the National Assembly chairman on amending the law on local taxes and duties. [passage omitted].

Incentives for Consumer Goods Output Detailed

AU2210144888 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT 21 Oct 88

["For More Adequate Supply of Goods and Services"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 21 (BTA)—Bulgaria's socioeconomic policy attaches decisive importance to the production of consumer goods and services in larger quantities, greater variety and higher quality. To this end, the appropriate technological conditions are being created along with the development of a ramified system of economic incentives. Arrangements are made for the distribution of the profits generated by the side lines in consumer goods to the advantage of the work forces manufacturing them. Regulations have been laid down opening wide-ranging opportunities to encourage the citizens' collective and individual self-employment in the production of extra consumer goods and services. Considerable tax concessions were granted this year for the fulfilment of a number of state contracts for the production of goods and services in demand on the domestic market. The merchandise inventories are being diversified by a number of imported items.

At the same time, further opportunities are sought to meet ever more fully the solvent consumer demand of the population.

On October 13, 1988 the Council of Ministers adopted a decision providing additional fiscal and economic incentives for the enterprises in all branches of the national economy.

As from October 1, 1988, the enterprises which manufacture machines, equipment and other means of production as their principal line of business will be entitled to keep back 50 percent from the turnover tax on all consumer goods and services which they produce. A still greater incentive is made available for consumer goods imports in exchange for machines and equipment exports. In these cases, the exporting enterprises will have to pay only 50 percent of the turnover tax on the imported items and, moreover, only 50 percent of the respective customs duties.

The new additional incentives regulations also apply to the enterprises producing consumer goods and services. However, they will be able to benefit from the concessions only in respect of the amounts manufactured and marketed in excess of the government contracts and of the state plan targets for 1988.

Half of the waived tax payments can be invested in the expansion and modernisation of the production of consumer goods and services. The rest of the funds is added to the wages fund and is paid out in excess of the established rates. The work force members can receive considerable supplements to their wages. At the same time, the minister of the economy and planning has the right to award personal bonuses to the managers of enterprises which have achieved great successes in the production of consumer goods and services.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a customs tariff for the duties collectable on goods imported and exported by physical persons and a list of goods, the import of which is prohibited.

Most goods will be imported duty-free. Import duties will be levied on just 22 types of goods. The customs duty imposed on imported gas cookers, hot plates and household water-heaters, VCR's and sound systems, trucks, coffee-makers, mopeds, soft-drink and confectionery machines, metal-working and wood-working machines and devices, car spares, etc. will amount to 10 per cent of the respective item's retail price in Bulgaria. The comparable figure is 60 per cent for car components, car engines and natural-gas installations for automobiles, oil stoves and installations, and 30 per cent for imported items, including the ones exempt from duties, when they are in excess of the individual and family requirements of the importers.

The same Council of Ministers decree on the improvement of the customs regulations for the export and import of goods by physical persons provides for the import of motor cars and trucks. The Korekom foreign trade organisation and the Mototekhnika economic corporation are given the right to import new and used automobiles and to sell them to the population for foreign currency. The granting of an import licence involves an undertaking for the automobile's service station maintenance and the condition that the cars were manufactured not more than five years ago.

Local physical persons importing motor cars from nonsocialist countries will be required to pay a 20 per cent customs duty in convertible currency. The same duty will be imposed on automobiles made in socialist countries but purchased in nonsocialist countries.

Motor cars and spares manufactured and purchased in the socialist countries will be imported duty-free.

Regulations will be laid down allowing the citizens to import machines and devices to be used in their individual and collective self-employment, as well as for their own needs in the spirit of the executive acts on the production of extra consumer goods and services.

At the same time, prohibitive tariffs are introduced for the export of some consumer goods. Duties as high as 200 and 300 per cent will be collected on 17 types of goods which are in short supply on the domestic market and which tend to be actively exported. Persons travelling abroad are allowed duty-free export of food in amounts that will last them to their destination. This is yet another measure intended to prevent the depletion of the consumer goods inventories.

POGLED Calls For Self-Criticism of Leaders

AU1810182888 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
Issue No 42 17 Oct 88 p 9

[Stefan Prodev Article: "Reading Matter for Bosses"]

[Text] Democracy has invented a very honorable form of self-criticism. It is a method called "handing in one's resignation." Whoever you are, once you are guilty, you get up and go home. What if your wife starts crying? Let her cry. The important thing is that you, who are guilty, have openly admitted your guilt and are dropping out of the play with dignity. In other countries this form of self-criticism is fully accepted as natural. People do not see anything disgraceful about it. After all, no one's post lasts forever, and separation from it should not be regarded as a tragedy. In mountain climbing, the best climbers are those who are able to make a calm and beautiful descent. The same applies to social life. To descend in good conscience is not a downfall, but an act of moral behavior, which is accepted with understanding. Even the highest-ranking post is not superior to one's honor.

Things are not proceeding as they should in Poland and the prime minister handed in his resignation. He addressed the Sejm, admitting that he was unable to cope with the situation. In this case, someone who admitted weakness manifested strength. At the same time, two disastrous accidents occurred in our country which upset our society. The accidents were results of bad organization, poor discipline, and failure to observe official instructions. Unfortunately, the minister of transportation and his deputies did not "think" of the need to hand in their resignation. They preferred to be dismissed, which made them appear even more guilty. In this case the loss of one's position is nothing compared with the loss of dignity. Two similar cases occurred at the Olympic games in Seoul (ours and the South Korean one), which demonstrated different ethics in evaluating guilt.

It is not necessary to prove how much we lose as a society and a nation through the lack of personal ethics. It is an unnatural state of affairs that in our country the fear of losing one's post is still stronger than the voice of conscience. The story about a captain who goes down with his sinking ship is not very comforting today, when shortcomings are more numerous than the storms. In this case disciplined "heroism" is not only dangerous, but disgraceful as well. The real captain is the one who knows when to step down from the ship. Such a captain will deserve the respect of society. Unfortunately, we have no such examples yet.

I have often asked myself why several of our compromised leaders do not consider it necessary to hand in their resignations. Why are they behaving like sinking people, clinging to the last straw and caressing the knife while waiting for their execution? Is it their lacking self-evaluation, or their lack of will, character, and moral fiber that leads them to this disgraceful end? The reasons for this moral degradation are certainly numerous, but one of them seems essential to me. I would call it politely "the fear for future," or the "fear from the future." Many of these people have no other asset than their job. It means everything to them: It represents power, money, self-confidence, and social prestige.

By being deprived of their post, they lose everything, even their own self-image. Hence—the horror of being forced to resign. For these people, the descent from the top is identical with their total disappearance as individuals. They simply vanish into thin air, as if they had never existed. This is precisely what makes them conceal their guilt, shift it to others, and slink like cats from one post to the other. This situation will not change as long as the social status of a post is more highly valued than the moral status of a personality, as long as the concept of "leader" is identified with the concept of "profession."

It is a different matter, when someone resigns, not because he is guilty, but because he does not meet understanding, or because he does not agree with the others. In this case the resignation is the result of a struggle, which deserves respect. Unfortunately, our bosses are not too often involved in such battles, or, at least, we do not hear much about them. This, however, should be the subject of another conversation...

Influence of 'Informal' Youth Groups Examined

AU1810205288 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Petyu Kostadinov, secretary of an unidentified Komsomol organization: "Let Us Not Make Up for Other People's Omissions"]

[Excerpts] Over the last 1 or 2 years the mass media made sometimes cautious, sometimes even bold efforts to examine, analyze, and evaluate the so-called "informal" youth groups. I do not intend to join them in this or to reject opinions and stands on this problem. I would like to view these issues from another angle: I would like to examine the question from an angle which permits us even more clearly to discern, whether the consequences of the existence of such "informal groups" are formal in their essence, and whether the influence which such groups have on the minds of young people, who are about to join the army ranks, is really harmless.

Concern in this respect is not unjustified. Materials have recently appeared in the Soviet media which unequivocally suggest that this problem deserves even greater attention. SOVETSKIY VOYN magazine published reports which provide evidence for the existence of an unprecedented phenomenon—draft dodging—which is precisely the result of the influence exerted by such unhealthy youth groups.

We have no information about the existence of similar cases in our country; however, the experience of most commanders and political workers shows that the greatest problems are caused by soldiers who have been members of various, similar groups.

It is high time to do away with the outdated version of the proverb that young people will receive the right education in the barracks and become real men. The army is not a place for re-education, but a stage in young people's education. [passage omitted]

The spontaneous establishment of youth associations would not be a cause of concern if it were competently guided to find ethical and esthetic values with a desired educational effect in conformity with the socialist norms of life. In this respect I would like to raise the question of Komsomol organizations as responsible factors whose waking up does not conform to the rates of historical requirements. There is even more: No total and full-fledged integration of young people in Komsomol organizations has so far been achieved. [passage omitted].

Discotheques were established about 10 years ago, and still remain young people's most favorite places of entertainment. However, with the exception of sporadic training courses for disc jockeys, nothing is being done to better qualify the people who are in charge of the variegated masses of individuals. [passage omitted] What about the young people's education? Their education lies within the hands of those whose pseudo-culture and ideas penetrate certain groups, large and small, which are deprived of distinct substance and goals, and the consolidation of which exerts a definitely negative ideological effect.

It is obvious that families and schools often fail to interfere in such cases on a timely and sensible basis. They fail to accomplish their full-fledged tasks in connection with preparing young individuals for the next stage of their development, and above all for the fulfillment of their supreme duty toward the fatherland—the defense of socialist society. [passage omitted]

This is the problem we are talking about. Instead of going over to intensive training and lessons in military disciplines, the commanders and political workers are obliged to fill the gaps and make up for the omissions of otherwise competently organized school programs concerning elementary military training. Only then they can seek a full-fledged homogenity of crews and detachments—homogenity under which combat readiness should be in conformity with the requirements and the results of training—good and even excellent.

ANTENI To Retrace 'Islamization' in Bulgaria

AU2010144288 Sofia BTA in English
1310 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Bulgarian Lands Islamization Under Ottoman Rule"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—The process of the Islamization of part of the Bulgarian population during the five centuries of Ottoman rule will be retraced on the pages of the ANTENI weekly which will publish numerous documents, letters, quotations from Ottoman records, courtroom minutes, and excerpts from the notes of foreign travellers. The paper will also provide coverage of the life and work of people who have restored their Bulgarian names.

For the purpose, the weekly has unveiled a new column entitled "Children of This Land." It will be edited together with the Sofia University Department of Bulgarian History. The first feature which appears in the column today is an interview with Prof. Petur Petrov on some authentic evidence of the Bulgarian lands' Islamization during the Ottoman yoke.

The interviewee says that there are thousands of documents, chronicles, letters and marginal notes in old books, vitae sanctorum, newspaper reports, personal complaints by individual people or by Bulgarian municipal councils, articles by public figures and memoires shedding light on that process.

Part of these documents are reproduced in Prof. Petur Petrov's book "Coercion Retraced", vol. 2 of which is expected soon. He is preparing for publication another two volumes, entitled "Bulgarian Roots Rediscovered", which is based on applications for the renunciaton of Islam and for reconversion to Christianity.

Both books by Prof. Petur Petrov contain material which bears witness to specific instances of the Islamization of individuals and of the population of entire regions. The documents make it clear that places which are now populated by Muslim Bulgarians were peopled by Christians well into the second half of the 17th century. There is also documentary evidence, dating from the post-liberation period, of those people or of their descendants renouncing Islam, restoring their Bulgarian names and reverting to the Christian faith of their forbears. In other words, Prof. Petur Petrov points out, the regenerative process in Bulgaria started immediately after the liberation in 1877-1878.

The facts produced in ANTENI today concern the Islamization campaign in the Rhodope Mountains, chronicled in the accounts of the priest Metodi Draginov, in the records of the St Petka Monastery near Pazardzhik and in marginal notes to liturgical books. Evidence is also found in Ottoman documents where the Ottoman clerks have meticulously recorded the outrages committed against the ethnic Bulgarians. The European documents (consular reports, travel notes, scholarly studies, journalists' despatches etc.) provide another valuable source of information.

The interviewee further discusses the process of Islamizing northeastern Bulgaria where, following three successive uprisings, the Crimean Tartar Sultan Selim Giray "laid waste" the Bulgarian population centres, as evidenced in the folk songs. "Old folks say we once used to be Bulgarians and Christians and that Khan Tatar ruined us," tells an old lady from the town of Isperikh, referring to a folk tradition, the foundation in historical fact of which is documented.

In his interview, Prof. Petur Petrov also comments on the essence of the Islam professed in Bulgaria, which bears a number of marks belonging to what is known as clandestine Christianity. This comes as further evidence that the forcibly Islamized population is of Bulgarian descent.

CC Presidium Meets 21 Oct, Discusses Labor Code

LD2110165688 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Today at its session the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the government-sponsored bill amending the Labor Code. It noted that the bill to amend the Labor Code is one of the most significant social and legal documents adopted within the framework of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. It praised the fact that the proposed bill reflects the results of the public discussion during which more than 150,000 comments were submitted on the basis of these views, and that adjustments were made in almost one-half the published principles. The proposed bill also incorporates the conclusions of the statewide all-trade union conference. The bill will be submitted to the Federal Assembly in November.

The Presidium went on to discuss in detail the population's health care problems and questions of developing health care. It praised the results achieved by our health care service, but it also critically noted the insufficient safeguarding, with the necessary resources, of the development of Czechoslovak health care. It provided an incentive whereby a draft document of the CPCZ Central Committee may be formulated by the end of 1990 on the further development of the population's health and of health and social care up to the year 2010. It set out that in the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the most pressing needs of health care, including the needs of the pharmaceutical industry, should be safeguarded by utilizing the necessary financial, technical, and material resources.

At the same time, it discussed and consented to a report by the party Central Control and Auditing Commission on the results of preliminary verification as to how Communists, management employees, and party organizations at the Ministries of Health Care and Social Affairs of the Czech and Slovak SR's fulfill the measures on this issue adopted in 1987, and how they deepen the standards of party workn and create conditions for satisfying the needs of the population for medicine and health materials. It set out as a task for the Communists in the federal government and in the Czech and Slovak Governments to employ the results of the preliminary verification in restructuring the economic mechanism and in changing management and organizational structures in health care.

The Presidium approved the attendance at the 22d Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party of a CPCZ delegation led by Comrade Josef Mevald, member of the Central Committee Secretariat and secretary of the party work committee in the Czech SR. It approved of the visit to the Republic of Austria by Comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Central Committee secretary, which will take place at the invitation of Heinz Fischer, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria and chairman of the party's parliamentary faction.

The CPCZ Central Commitee session approved Comrade Vladimir Patek—currently head of the Department of Social Policy and Party Work for the building industry, internal trade, transport, and communications—for the post of head of the Central Committee Political Organization Department.

Janak Addresses CC on Ideological Restructuring

LD1910093888 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] At the end of the CPSL Central Committee session today Comrade Ignac Janak took the floor. He said that the session evaluated collectively, openly, and critically—on the basis of the tasks mapped out at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee—the standard, efficiency, and the problems of ideological work in the process of restructuring and democratization.

Comrade Janak went on to say:

We want to raise the ideological work of the party to the level of new demands, link it closely to life, and make way for new ideas and aims which are required by this breakthrough era, when necessary changes in building socialism are needed.

Of key importance are changes in the thinking and acting of the people, the correct understanding of socialism. Therefore, we will direct ideological work in the spirit of creative application of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism toward elucidating and understanding the meaning, aims, and paths of restructuring, toward reinforcing the awareness of its objective inevitability, its immediate link with satisfying the people's interests and needs.

The yardstick to measure standards and efficiency will be the extent to which our people accept the current revolutionary process and the way they take part in the weighty changes, which require creative initiative and rejection of everything that slows down the application of the people's creative forces. This requires propaganda and agitation efforts so that each individual becomes a socialist manager and develops a critical attitude toward everything that harms socialism. This requires us to make everyone respect honest and good quality work, which will be rewarded according to its merits and not in any other way.

Within the framework of doing away with shortcomings, we must fight against waiting for restructuring and create the atmosphere of duty, of dealing immediately with the shortcomings and problems that do not require investments or consent from above.

Comrade Janak went on to emphasize that should ideological work be efficient and militant, it must react to the tasks and real problems of daily life.

He emphasized that young people are very interested in restructuring. They see in this process possibilities for their self-realization; they link it with their future and the development of our society.

Young people have always been interested in new and revolutionary matters and restructuring requires these very attributes. We must make better use of this in our party, cadre, and ideological work.

Comrade Janak went on to speak about the issue of creating international feelings in people. [break in transmission]

With regard to education and creating a world outlook, he said that experience has shown problems in the low level of class awareness, socialist value orientation, and patriotic and internationalist feelings, which in many young people are not just the result of foreign political influence. Its roots are above all in the insufficient influence by the family and also in the formalism of ideological education and other work with young people. Somehow the old saying is not remembered: That every new generation, its thinking and actions, must be fought for anew every time; that they must be won over and helped to create an active attitude toward life.

The ideological work methods must be marked by a scientific approach and matter of fact attitude. It must be prompt in reacting to the people's views.

It is particularly important that the impact of the ideological front is specifically reflected in comprehensively securing the implementation of state tasks on the development of the national economy. It is necessary to concentrate attention on all levels of management toward implementing this year's plan in both volume and qualitative indices and in this way create conditions for securing further social advancement.

When he spoke about shortcomings in implementing tasks in comprehensive housing construction, he emphasized that we expect communists in the Slovak Government, relevant departments, and on national committees to adopt solutions enabling the planned number of apartments for this 5-year plan to be completed.

With regard to the situation on the domestic market where its stability is impaired from both objective and subjective causes, Comrade Janak said that the departments involved must be much more active in dealing with shortcomings and problems.

He praised the fact that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has come up with an initiative to produce necessary goods over and above the plan. In improving the quality of supplies to the population, the national committee and trade organizations must improve their work. In this connection he pointed to the fact that some experimenting organizations, just as in state enterprises, are tending to plan production and products regardless of social needs and, at the same time, they want to cut resources to develop cultural and educational activities. In the long run this should influence the stability of the domestic market and the development of cultural life. It is in sharp contradition with the law on the state enterprise.

The remaining months of this year, Comrade Janak said, must be used for accomplishing the plan's tasks for the coming year. The party organizations should in this respect mobilize communists and create an atmosphere of high demands. In the current period, work is culminating on preparations for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. It will put exceptional demands on new approaches to planning which must rest on purposeful implementation of social priorities and intentions and must take into account structural changes. There must be clear ideas as to what production programs to develop, which ones to subdue. This approach cannot be random or subjective; it must stem from the prepared prognoses in which our scientific workplaces are taking place.

Comrade Ignac Janak went on to stress that in all of our activity we must see to the growth of the authority and vanguard character of the party, strengthening its unity and links with the people, developing the activity of primary party organizations as the political core of labor collectives. It is of the highest significance for party organs and, above all, primary organizations, to lead the restructuring process, consistently verifying the fulfillment of the adopted resolutions and keeping a finger on the pulse. This requires, Comrade Ignac Janak said in conclusion, that all organs and organizations, maintain high demands and critical openness, leaving no room for too comfortable a life. We must mobilize the ranks of fighters for restructuring, for speeding up our socialist development by setting our own examples.

Fifth Slovak SVAZARM Congress Opens

LD2210230788 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The Fifth Slovak SVAZARM Congress [Union for Cooperation With the Army] began today in Bratislava. Our correspondents Miroslav Polacek and Milan Michalic are covering the proceedings:

[Polacek or Michalic] The congress was opened by Lieutenant General Anton Murzic, chairman of the Slovak SVAZARM Central Committee. [passage omitted] In delivering the report on the organization's activity, Comrade Murzic noted that the Slovak SVAZARM organization has grown and has attained a number of remarkable athletic accomplishments, but in every sector there are still a series of shortcomings. Although we all understand and talk about the importance of defense-oriented political training, many young men enlisting for compulsory military service are still inadequately prepared. Their physicial fitness, in particular, is at a low level.

After the report, the congress continued with a debate, and Comrade Ondrej Saling made a speech. Here is part of what he said:

[Begin Sailing recording] Your congress is taking place at a time when we are waging a struggle throughout society to accomplish tasks aimed at speeding up socioeconomic development, following a path toward restructuring, and developing socialist democracy. In the SVAZARM bodies and primary organizations, a consistent struggle must be waged to create an atmosphere for the broad exchange of views and open dialogue which should result in a unity of views and approaches and the advance of all aspects of activity. Your SVAZARM organization, too, has an undoubtedly great and even particular significance in the National Front system. The Central Committee report delivered by Comrade Murzic and the debate speeches we have heard so far confirm that the ideas of restructuring are taking root in your organization. The report and debate have brought up a number of suggestions, examples, and experiences from the deliberations of the annual members' meetings and the district and regional conferences, and from the discussions in the specialist councils, sections, and commissions, which demonstrate to us the purposeful and creditable work being carried out in the SVAZARM.

In addition to underlining your successes, you are also openly drawing attention to problems which need to be tackled. In particular, we value the suggestions which point out ways of changing the situation for the better and improving your activities in the future. We are glad that although there has been a decline in the number of small primary organizations, the overall number of members has increased. You are succeeding in implementing changes in the structural composition of the primary organizations, which is being reflected in an increase in socially beneficial defense-oriented SVAZARM activity in many factories, schools, villages, and towns. The consistency of political education work will depend primarily on the work of the broad ranks of active functionaries, instructors, group and club leaders, trainers, and on the standard of their political and organizational work and personal example. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Polacek or Michalic] At the close of the 1st day of the Slovak SVAZARM congress, the delegates elected a new Slovak Central Committee. Today's program also included the announcement of this year's most outstanding SVAZARM sports personalities and instructors.

Congress Concludes 23 Oct

LD2410050888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Today the Fifth Slovak SVAZARM Congress ended in Bratislava with the approval of the final documents. The delegation of the CPSL Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak SR, which was headed by Comrade Ondrej Saling, was also present during today's proceedings. Delegates spoke factually and critically about the fulfilment of the tasks that the organization set for itself and about conditions for the development of all kinds of hobbies, be they defense-oriented athletic activities or those that enable members to acquire paramilitary technical skills that would also involve a greater number of people. They frankly noted shortcomings hindering work from being more effective and at the same time sought ways to tackle these.

In a letter of greetings sent to the CPSL Central Committee, they gave their full support to the party's policy aimed at restructuring and at the democratization of our society.

Lieutenant General Anton Murzic was reelected chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the SVAZARM.

Defense Minister Assesses Army Training Year

AU2110192088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Noting Results of the Training Year"]

[Text] Prague—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, appraised the accomplishment of combat and political training tasks in the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) in the past training year at a gathering of chief CSLA functionaries held in Prague on Wednesday [19 October].

He stated that the members of the CSLA had accomplished the main tasks of the training year, and that the quality of combat and mobilization readiness had further improved. We are succeeding in gradually pushing through the principles of restructuring and democratization even under the specific conditions in the Army; the conclusions of the latest CPCZ Central Committee sessions are becoming part of its practical life. However, it is necessary to improve everything that is hampering our speedier progress (this applies primarily to management and organizational work at all levels), to eliminate shortcomings in relations among the soldiers, and to enhance the effectiveness of their training. A lasting task of the members of the CSLA is to intensify combat comradeship with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member states, and the Soviet Army in particular.

The gathering was attended by Rudolf Hegenbart, CPCZ Central Committee department head. Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the CSSR minister of national defense, was also present on the occasion.

Prison Conditions, Political Prisoners Noted

[Editorial Report] AU2010205388 Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 41, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 15 October, publishes on pages 1, 8, and 9 a 7,500-word article by Karel Krticka entitled "A Report From the World Behind Bars." The article deals with conditions in Czechoslovak penitentiaries.

Krticka opens his article by comparing the views of the Czechoslovak public and "foreign broadcasting stations" on the prison system in Czechoslovakia. While people in Czechoslovakia regard Czechoslovak prisons as "too mild" and call for a "stricter regime" (Krticka cites two readers' letters to this effect), foreign broadcasting stations reportedly claim that "Czechoslovak prisons have assimilated the methods of Nazi concentration camps and torture chambers" and that they "have not changed one iota in the past 50 years."

To verify the true state of affairs, Krticka continues, he visited several prisons in the country (including the third-category prison at Valdice, which "some Western broadcasting stations describe as one of the largest Czechoslovak 'labor camps, in which torture is practiced' ") and spoke to experts, officials of the "Correctional Education Corps" and of the judiciary in the Czech SR, as well as to prisoners themselves.

Krticka goes on to explain the various categories of prisons in Czechoslovakia, to which convicts are assigned on the basis of the severity of their offense. In first-category prisons ("the first correctional-educational group"), he says, prisoners may move freely on the premises of the penitentiary, may work unguarded outside the institution, are allowed to engage in sports and hobbies during their time off, and are entitled to receive visits once a month (during which they may wear their civilian clothes) and to write letters once a week. In second-category prisons ("the second correctional-educational group"), the prisoners' quarters are under lock and key, prisoners move around the institution "in an organized fashion and under supervision," they may work outside the penitentiary and, "exceptionally," may do so unguarded, may be "given a permit" to engage in sports during their time off, and are entitled to receive visits "by their closest relatives" every 5 to 8 weeks and to send a letter every fortnight. Besides this, during their hours off, they may shop in the institution's canteen. Finally, convicts assigned to third-category prisons ("the third correctional-educational group") live in locked bedrooms, are escorted by a warden during all their movements around the penitentiary, do not work outside the institution, and, with the exception of the last 2 months of their prison term, have their hair close-cropped. They may receive visits every 8 to 12 weeks under the supervision of a warden, and may send a letter every 3 weeks.

Krticka contends that the Czechoslovak law on "the execution of punishment," which dates from 1965, was at that time "one of the most humane and progressive laws" of its kind. Later in the article, however, he notes that the amendment of the criminal code which is now on the drawing board "will evidently also bring some changes in the execution of punishment." Without specifying the nature of the planned changes, Krticka claims that "they have not been forced upon us by some voices from the ether or from underground," but that they rather constitute "a further logical stage in the development of our socialist society in this highly sensitive area."

Having explained the different categories of prisons in Czechoslovakia, Krticka addresses the issue of political prisoners. The passage reads: "People are asking: Is it humane to also have political prisoners? Briefly stated, our socialist legality abides by the following concept—a law is a law, and its violation is punishable, regardless of whether it involves an attempt at subverting the Republic, politically motivated terrorism, an economic crime, or violent criminal activity.

"At the end of June this year, four people in the Czech SR who had been sentenced for subversion against the Republic were serving prison terms; they were sentenced on charges such as the manufacture and distribution of antistate printed matter or printed matter dangerous or hostile to society, unauthorized assembly, and the like. Members of the so-called Charter [77], VONS [Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted], and other interwoven groups of 'dissidents' are compiling and sending to the world, including the foreign mass information media, far longer lists which are at variance with facts and the truth.

'You would be surprised what sort of things these people consider to be political activity,' one of the leading officials of the Correctional Education Corps of the Czech SR told me. 'For example, among these allegedly innocent sufferers you will find the names of several former high-ranking officers of the security corps or the Army who cooperated with Western intelligence services. They themselves can certainly find some political justification for this, but such conduct is considered to be high treason in the entire world. It is perhaps no coincidence that precisely these few convicts are having great problems of a disciplinary nature in serving their prison terms. They were used to giving orders and now they are subject to strict discipline themselves.

"'Another group of so-called first-chapter convicts (that is, those sentenced under Chapter One of the Criminal Code, comprising culpable offenses directed against the Republic—editor's note) is made up of people who have tried to cross the state borders illegally. They include people who were armed while making this attempt, people who took hostages and threatened to kill them, military deserters, and so forth. Naturally, this 'political' activity is also called otherwise in the West.

"'The third group of the so-called prisoners of conscience consists of people, often recidivists, who have been sentenced for normal criminal activity, people who have committed economic offenses, physically attacked public officials, stolen cars or robbed houses, stolen socially owned property, committed fraud, failed to pay alimony, and so forth. Such 'freedom fighters' who reached the West were sooner or later imprisoned there, frequently for very dangerous criminal activities.' "

In the remaining parts of his article, Krticka describes the conditions of everyday life in Czechoslovak prisons.

Speaking about education, he points out that not only juvenile delinquents but also "selected" adults may learn a trade while in prison, and that in the Belusice Penitentiary (a second-category prison), for example, adult convicts may attend elementary school classes and learn to read and write.

Discussing work in prison, Krticka says that it is subject to performance norms, wage scales, and premiums for shift work or for hazardous jobs, just like work in the civilian sector. He notes examples of prisoners at Valdice who earn up to Kcs7,500 a month. Work is also said to play an important role as motivation, because convicts may be assigned to lower-category prisons for "exemplary work." From their wages, they may also use up to Kcs300 a month (the exact sum depends on the category of prison) to shop in the prison canteen, where they can buy "toileteries, cigarettes or tobacco, sweets, fruit, and the like." Even those who for health reasons do not work are reportedly entitled to pocket money of Kcs20 to Kcs30 a month. As Krticka points out, the convicts are required to cover from their wages all financial damage resulting from their offenses, including the cost of the trial and of their stay and food in prison.

Next, Krticka discusses catering in prison. He says that there is a limit on the amount of money that can be spent on food per convict and day, which, as he says, "did not seem to me to be exorbitant, if I am to be honest." However, Krticka insists that the daily intake of calories and the composition of food are under strict supervision and that diabetics and other people requiring special diets are entitled to higher limits. He also mentions that, on the basis of the difficulty and quality of their work, convicts may receive extra food rations.

Turning to health care in prison, Krticka maintains that it is "comprehensive" and that everyone "who demands and needs medical treatment must receive it the same day." He says that virtually all prisons have their own infirmaries; the Ostrov nad Ohri Penitentiary (first and second categories) is even said to have its own ward for respiratory diseases, as well as a special unit for geriatric and disabled convicts. Speaking about health care in the Valdice Penitentiary, Krticka mentions that it was recently visited by two U.S. physicians "who inquired about health care provisions there and, on this occasion, spoke to the local physician as well as to one of the so-called dissidents [serving his sentence] there. They had to admit: 'Our idea of everything here was completely different from the reality.'"

Referring to the daily regime in prison, Krticka says that every convict is entitled to 8 hours of sleep, 1 hour of "airing," and "at least" 1 hour of "personal time off" every day. During their time off, prisoners in third-category prisons may watch the television news, and those who "fulfill all their duties" may also watch sports relays and "selected entertainment programs." The selection of television programs in the lower-category prisons is said to be more varied; in addition, lower-category convicts may also engage in "other cultural and hobby activities." Prisoners may also buy newspapers and journals from their pocket money, "including those that are in short supply." According to Krticka, "nobody exerts any pressure on them as to what they should subscribe to."

Speaking about disciplinary measures applied in Czechoslovak prisons, Krticka mentions that—provided the nature of the infringement in question is not such that it falls within the competence of the courts—the penitentiaries' chiefs may impose various punishments "including solitary confinement for up to 30 days, coupled with reduced food rations."

The concluding passage of the article deals with the work of the Correctional Education Corps of the Czech SR. Krticka says that although its members wear the same uniforms as members of the National Security Corps, it is an independent body which is subordinate to the Ministry of Justice. An official interviewed in the article insists that the quality of the members of the corps is good and that the corps can even afford to be "selective" in hiring new staff. He says that wardens receive supplementary training in pedagogy, psychology, and penology, and denies that their conduct is "unsuitably sharp." Every instance of "extraordinary measures—that is, the use of the truncheon or of shackles," is reportedly checked for its unavoidability.

Sober View of Whitehead E. Europe Tour Urged

LD2210100288 Prague CTK in English
0924 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 22 (CTK)—The United States and other NATO countries are very much interested in "to what extent their political, diplomatic and secret operations succeed in driving a wedge between individual socialist countries, in weakening their unity," RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

Commenting on U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead's recent tour of European socialist countries, the paper's correspondent in Brussels pointed out that it has been characterized as an "inspection" of pro-American opposition forces.

In Prague, e.g., the U.S. official met with a group of people who allegedly assured him that they were best informed about Czechoslovakia, its needs and interests. This secret meeting also dealt with questions of Czechoslovak-U.S. trade, particularly the most-favoured-nation clause. They kept advising him against "exaggerating" the realistic changes in Czechoslovak-American relations, particularly as regards the most-favoured-nation clause in mutual trade. They maintained that "the granting of the clause must be conditioned by the relation of the Czechoslovak Government to opposition groups represented by these individuals, i.e. also to their political provocations," the daily wrote.

From this point of view, Whitehead's interest in the processes linked to the restructuring in individual socialist countries must be viewed soberly, the daily stressed in conclusion.

Foreign Minister Addresses Policy Seminar

LD1910185788 Prague CTK in English
1239 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—The prior task of the Czechoslovak foreign policy is to actively contribute to the strengthening of peace and security, further development of the process of disarmament and peace cooperation, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes stated here today.

He was speaking at a two-day seminar on topical issues of international-political and economic relations which opened here today, organized for deputies—members of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations Foreign Relations Committees.

The minister said that Czechoslovakia also aims at ensuring favourable external conditions for peaceful development of the country and successful implementation of the process of restructuring and democratization of all spheres of life. These aims are reflected in the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations along the line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states as well as other Czechoslovak initiatives, and also in the country's activity in bilateral and multilateral relations.

Czechoslovakia attaches prior significance to all-round strengthening of cooperation and alliance with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular, mutual exchange of experience from the process of restructuring and democratization. Speaking of the development of relations on the European scale, Jaromir Johanes underlined Czechoslovakia's interest in a speedy conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting and adoption of a balanced final document.

Agreement With EEC Initialed in Brussels

AU2110125988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK/zr Brussels dispatch: "CSSR-EEC Agreement Prepared"]

[Text] Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, continued his negotiations with representatives of the commission of European communities on the conclusion of a CSSR-EEC trade agreement on industrial goods and on the prospects of future trade and economic cooperation in Brussels on Wednesday [19 October]. The text of this agreement was approved during the negotiations, and the agreement should be signed during the EEC representatives' visit to Prague.

The way to the trade agreement on industrial goods was opened when the joint declaration on the establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations was signed on 25 June 1988. On the basis of this declaration, individual CEMA countries (the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia) have been gradually normalizing their economic relations with the EEC.

The agreement itself (its text was initialled in Brussels) is the first step toward making use of the vast possibilities of cooperation between the CSSR and EEC, among other things in the spheres of environmental protection, power industry, transport, etc.

Jan Sterba departed for home on Wednesday [19 October].

FRG Foreign Ministry Official Confers in Prague

AU2110181788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Evzek Vacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Juergen Trumpf, section director in the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Prague on Wednesday [19 October]. They discussed issues connected with the integration processes in Western Europe.

Diplomatic Relations Established With New Guinea

LD2110084288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] The Federal Government and the Government of Papua New Guinea have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the embassy level with effect from 20 October this year. This was announced today in Prague.

Papua New Guinea, an island state in the Pacific Ocean, is a constitutional monarchy and a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The country has considerable mineral wealth, and the main industry is processing domestic agricultural products.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-12 Oct

AU1410194988 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak from 7 to 13 October report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number in parentheses):

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received Ludovit Pezlar, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Denmark, in connection with the latter's taking up of his post, in Prague 6 October. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Oct 88 p 1)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Klaus Wedemeier, chairman of the Bremen senate and mayor of the City of Bremen, in Prague on 7 October, with Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, CSSR deputy premier, and Slovak premier, in attendance. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Oct 88 p 1)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended and addressed a meeting of editors of the daily PRACE in Prague on 7 October. (PRACE 8 Oct 88 p 1)

Milos Jakes received Josef Havlin, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Poland, in connection with the latter's taking up of his post, in Prague on 7 October. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Oct 88 p 1)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutlaq, Iraqi ambassador, in Prague on 7 October. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Oct 88 p 1)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, met with Dante Caputo, his Argentine counterpart, in New York on 7 October. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Oct 88 p 3)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, attended and addressed the congress of the Czech organization of the CSSR Physical Culture Association in Prague on 8 October. (RUDE PRAVO 10 Oct 88 p 1)

Vasil Bilak received a delegation of the Havana Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 88 p 1)

Milos Jakes; Peter Colotka; Ladislav Adamec; Gustav Husak; Vasil Bilak; Miroslav Zavadil; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council; Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee; Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee; Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the Central Bohemian CPCZ Central Committee, were among those who attended the 1st day of the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 10 October. (Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 10 Oct 1830 GMT)

Mikulas Beno attended a National Day reception at the PDRY Embassy in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 88 p 3)

Josef Haman presented the Order of Labor to a Prague hospital on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 88 p 3)

Mittag Receives CPSU Technical Delegation

LD1410173588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the GDR extensive and active work is being carried out in the interests of a new quality of scientific-technical and economic cooperation with the USSR. This was stressed in Berlin today by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who received a fact-finding delegation led by Vladimir Marin deputy chief of the heavy industry and power engineering department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Mittag stressed that the recipocal exchange of experience between the SED and the CPSU in the interests of strengthening socialism is gaining in importance.

The Soviet delegation had earlier acquainted itself with the SED experience of party work in the GDR's power economy.

Message Assesses Honecker-Gorbachev Talks

LD1410223988 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The GDR party and state leadership assesses the latest meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow as further stressing the friendship and solidarity between the two sides. In a message of thanks [no addressee specified] for the congratulations received on GDR national day, it is said that a further important section of the path of our fruitful, all-around relations has been marked out. Based on the community of viewpoints and principles in matters of foreign policy and socialist construction, close cooperation will continue to the benefit of the two peoples.

Messages of thanks have also been sent to other states, parties, and organizations.

Honecker Thanks Soviet Leaders for Greetings

AU1810160488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Oct 88 p 2

[ADN report: "Thanks for Congratulations on the National Day of the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed thanks to the party and state leaderships of the socialist countries, the heads of state and heads of governments of other states, as well as to representatives of international organizations for their congratulations on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, reads as follows:

Esteemed Comrades:
On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, we convey cordial thanks to you for the fraternal greetings and congratulations on the 39th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

The respect for the successes of the working people in our country in all spheres of society, which you mentioned, and the appreciation of the GDR's policy aimed at peace and good-neighborliness fill us with satisfaction. The most recent eventful meeting in Moscow reaffirmed the good friendship and solidarity between our two parties, states, and peoples. We have jointly marked out a further important section of the path of the comprehensive and fruitful relations between the GDR and USSR. We are convinced that they will reach an even higher level. Based on the community of viewpoints and principles in matters of foreign policy and socialist construction, we will continue to cooperate closely to the benefit of our peoples.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, the Communists, and all working people of the Soviet Union success in further implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the interest of socialism and peace.

Erich Honecker,
general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council
Willi Stoph,
chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Erich Honecker also sent letters of thanks for the congratulations on GDR national day to the leaders of communist and workers parties in nonsocialist countries, other allied parties, and national liberation movements. Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, conveyed thanks to his counterparts in the socialist countries and and in other states for the greetings that were conveyed to him.

GDR, Polish Parties Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD2210101788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—An agreement on cooperation between the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) and the Democratic Party of Poland (SD) for 1989 was signed on Friday in Warsaw by their chairmen, Prof Manfred Gerlach and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, at the conclusion of their 2-day talks.

It is stressed in the agreement that the long cooperation between the two friendly parties has made an effective contribution to implementing the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the GDR and Poland, as well as the most recent agreements of their highest representatives, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In awareness of their joint responsibility in the shaping of a happy future for the peoples of the GDR and Poland, the further cooperation between the LDPD and the SD will center on action rich in initiatives for the solution of tasks which have arisen during the shaping of socialism.

Measures for the further deepening of cooperation in 1989 are set out in the document. Great importance is accorded to the comprehensive exchange of experiences on political-ideological work. The cooperation of the two parties will be qualitatively widened at the bezirk and voivodship level, in the areas of science and technology, housing construction, and environmental protection as well as in the exchange of tourists, children, and youth.

Honecker Condolences to SFRY on Train Wreck

AU1310150588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, a telegram of condolence expressing the deep sympathy of the party and state leadership, as well as the people of the GDR, on the tragic train disaster in the SFRY city of Lapovo.

Honecker Sends Condolences on PRC Plane Crash

AU1210210588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 88 p 1

[ND report: "Erich Honecker's Condolence Telegram to PRC"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and PRC President Yang Shangkun on a plane crash in the city of Linfen, which claimed 42 lives:

Esteemed Comrades:

We are deeply shocked about the report on the tragic plane crash in the Province of Shanxi, which claimed so many lives.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, I convey to you and to the relatives of the victims our sincere sympathy.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Fischer Meets Perez de Cuellar in New York

AU1210214788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] New York (ADN)—On Monday [10 October] Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, met with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar for a friendly talk at the seat of the United Nations in New York. Oskar Fischer conveyed most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the highest UN representative. Perez de Cuellar, who paid tribute to the GDR's active participation in the work of the United Nations, returned the greetings and stressed that he likes to remember his visits to the GDR and the talks he held there.

During the meeting in the UN secretary general's office, the GDR foreign minister stated that he is under the impression that the atmosphere at the UN General Assembly reflects the favorable trends in international events which can be observed at present. This improvement in the international situation is doubtless a result of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and the efforts to also reduce confrontation on a regional scale.

The UN secretary general agreed with this assessment. The United Nations is able to effectively promote these processes, and it is doing so. Oskar Fischer emphasized Perez de Cuellar's personal activities, which are followed by the GDR—as everywhere else in the world—with feelings of affinity and agreement. He congratulated the UN secretary general on his successful work and also on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the UN peacekeeping forces. Perez de Cuellar expressed thanks for the congratulations and stressed that he considers them an encouragement for the United Nations and for his personal work, which strengthen his intention to continue his work in the spirit of the UN.

Later during the course of the talk, the GDR foreign minister stressed that disarmament remains the top-priority issue. The UN secretary general concurred. He said that, even though the Third Special Session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament had not been concluded with the adoption of a document, it still reached broad agreement on many questions, such as the complicated issues of verification. Therefore, those questions on which a consensus was reached have to be discussed at the 43d General Assembly, which is currently in session.

There was also an exchange of views on the problems of the international economy and the debt problems of the developing countries. The two politicians expressed the expectation that the General Assembly will contribute to bringing these serious problems closer to being solved.

The UN secretary general briefed Foreign Minister Fischer on the state of the efforts to implement UN Security Council Resolution 598 on the peaceful settlement of the Gulf conflict. The partners in the talk affirmed the desire that it may be possible to come to a lasting solution of the conflict by means of dialogue and negotiations. The same also applies to the efforts concerning Namibia's independence. In connection with the quadrilateral negotiations, the two politicians expressed their satisfaction that more sincere efforts are now under way to ensure Namibia's independence, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435. Thus, a solution to one of the problems burdening this region is in sight, they noted.

Nuclear Safety Talks Held With FRG Delegation

LD1510132388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—A delegation of the Federal Ministry for Environment, Protection of Nature, and Reactor Safety ended its stay in the GDR on Friday. On the basis of the agreement concluded between the GDR and the FRG in 1987 on exchange of information and experiences in the area of radiation protection, the experts were received for 2-day technical talks in the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection.

At the center of the discussions, which passed in an open-minded and objective atmosphere, were questions of state control in the peaceful use of nuclear energy for the protection of humans and the environment. In this regard, date on nuclear installations and results of the supervision of radiation protection were exchanged.

On the basis of information provided by international organizations, an exchange of opinions on the harmonization of normative values of radiation loads and radioactive contamination, in particular of foodstuffs after nuclear accidents, was conducted.

Much time was devoted to discussion of conceptions of the final storage of radioactive waste and of the final storage technology, of operational experiences in existing installations including the methodology and results of safety analyses, as well as the constant supervision of final storage sites.

The FRG delegation concluded its visit by viewing the final storage site for radioactive waste at Morsleben (Magdeburg area).

FDJ Delegation Meets With FRG Organizations

Talks Held

AU1810165888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—An FDJ delegation headed by Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, started an exchange of views with the Executive Committee of the Federal Youth Association (DBJR) and the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialists of the SPD in Bonn on Sunday [16 October]. The Federal Youth Association is an umbrella organization comprising 33 youth organizations with a total of about 5 million members.

During the initial meeting, Eberhard Aurich and DBJR Chairwoman Gertrud Casel spoke of a positive development and the broad shaping of relations in terms of content. The commitment of FDJ and DBJR to peace, disarmament, and understanding, as well as mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs have proven to be a solid and expandable basis for this, Eberhard Aurich stressed.

During their meeting, Susi Moebeck, chairwoman of the Young Socialists, and Eberhard Aurich referred to the initiatives of the FDJ and Young Socialists for concrete disarmament steps and a nuclear-free corridor.

Members Hold Press Conference

AU2010182588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 5

[Excerpts] Bonn (ADN)—At a press conference in Bonn on Tuesday [18 October], Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Gertrud Casel, chairwoman of the FRG Federal Youth League (DBJR), stressed the responsibility of the youth in the GDR and in the FRG for peace and understanding. Both youth organizations presented a joint press statement, which emphasizes that the relations between the FDJ and the DBJR have developed positively and have been deepened over the past few years. The meetings between young people from both German states and the cooperation of the youth organizations have become an important element of the efforts to promote peaceful neighborliness. Proceeding from the principle that only peace may start from German soil, both organizations stressed the two German states' responsibility for the disarmament process and for advancing detente in Europe. [passage omitted]

The press statement also stresses that the comprehensive exchange of views of representatives of the two organizations in Bonn on the continuation of the process of peace and disarmament and on the state of relations and the possibilities of developing them took place in a businesslike and open-minded atmosphere. On Tuesday, the FDJ delegation, which is in the FRG at the invitation of the DBJR, met with State Secretary Anton Pfeiffer of the Ministry of Youth, Family, and Health, and with representatives of the Youth Project of Workers' Welfare and of the Young Liberals. [passage omitted]

Eberhard Aurich stressed that this year the work in the spirit of the joint historical responsibility of the two German states in ensuring that only incentives for peace are to start from German soil has been greatly encouraged by the first nuclear disarmament steps. It is in the vital interest of the young people in both states to intensify efforts to continue this process. The FDJ supports everything that serves this goal. [passage omitted]

Pastoral Letter Warns Against SED Membership

LD1710173688 Hamburg DPA in German 1422 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Catholic bishops in the GDR have again stressed their church's view that Catholic Christians cannot work in organizations of a markedly explicit Marxist nature. In a pastoral letter from the Berlin Bishops' Conference read Sunday in all Catholic services, it was underlined—as did a similar pastoral message sent out 2 years ago—that something like membership of the SED could not be considered for Catholics. Equally, a Catholic Christian could not join in where he would have to represent opinions or do things which contradict "the spirit of Christ" and which could not be reconciled with his own conscience. Hence, such a person would not take up professions or positions in which he had to distance himself from church community life or leave the church.

In the pastoral letter signed by the 11 bishops and suffragan bishops of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, the leading body of the Catholic Church in the GDR, the expectation was again expressed that equal respect and equal rights for all citizens, regardless of ideology or religious belief, in all social spheres, as promised by the state, would become "a reality which could be experienced."

This also applies to the educational system, and it is also expected that there will be respect for decisions of conscience by Christians in questions of military training and military service.

The pastoral letter goes on to say that Christians must not evade their responsibility for their fellow-men and for society. This applies to duties at work and in every day life. "We must not refuse ourselves where our practical efforts are needed for a good, reasonable, and just concern, and where the helpless and weak need our solidarity. And a Christian should also declare his opinion clearly and decisively where senseless things take place or where injustice obtains."

The bishops also state in their pastoral letter that for the Catholic Christian the materialist world view of the governing party is "no foundation" for his service for the world, though it is respected " that others wish to do good on the basis of this foundation." For this reason there exist "our readiness to support everything which serves the true well-being of the people and the world. We want to cooperate constructively with all people of good will."

Funeral Ceremony for Military Official Noted

AU1710130188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [13 October], with sincere sympathy, relatives and fellow fighters paid the final honors to the retired Major General Comrade Gustav Szinda, who died on 23 September. Together with leading party and state officials, representatives of state and church organs, and veterans of work and party veterans, members of the Ministry of State Security paid the last honors to the deceased. Officers of the Berlin "Feliks Dzerzhinksiy" Guard Regiment of the Ministry of State Security kept guard at the urn which was surrounded by wreaths. In his funeral speech, Army General Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of state security, described the deceased as a "communist who dedicated all his strength and vigor, his knowledge and abilities to the liberation of the workers class, to socialism and peace." [passage omitted]

Honecker Hands Over 3 Millionth New Apartment

AU1510145188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 88 p 3

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a ceremony marking the completion of the 3 millionth apartment since 1971, in East Berlin on 12 October: "A Great Historic Achievement of Socialist Society"]

[Text] Dear Berliners, construction workers, and colleagues:

It is a very pleasant event for which we have gathered here today in the new city bezirk Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen. We are able to hand over the 3 millionth apartment which has been completed since 1971, the year of the Eighth SED Congress, within the framework of our housing construction program. Within 17 years, we have managed to improve the housing situation of more than half of the GDR citizens. This is a most remarkable sociopolitical step for our state and our society. We are both glad about and proud of this event which is taking place here today.

It is an undeniable sign of how consistently we have implemented the course of the main task of the unity of economic and social policy, as was emphasized at the 11th SED Congress. By permanently improving the ties between the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution we have managed to secure a dynamic development of achievements in our country's national economy.

More Than M320 Billion for Housing Improvement Since 1971 [subhead]

Together, we have done all this for the well-being of the people. This basic concern of our party is possibly best reflected in the successful implementation of such a long-term housing program. Between 1971 and the end of 1987, more than M320 billion were spent on the construction of apartments and community facilities, for modernizing and maintaining existing buildings, as well as for their management, while maintaining rents at a low level which is affordable to all. This is a great historic achievement by our socialist society, to which all sectors of our national economy have contributed.

The housing program has been accompanied by a clearly visible, striking change of the face of our cities and communities. At the same time, social protection and security of their inhabitants have continued to improve. This is not only because of the great number of new and modernized apartments, but also includes the great number of facilities for the tender care for and education of our children, for meaningful free time for our young people, for trade, and the health sector. Progress can also be noticed concerning senior citizens and those needing care.

We are well aware that a lot still remains to be done. However, with what we have achieved so far and considering the shortage of housing, the number of homeless people, and exorbitant rents in the capitalist countries, we have every reason to be proud of what we have accomplished.

When we faced the challenge of solving the housing question in the GDR as a social problem, we proceeded along the guidelines of the ideals of the revolutionary German workers movements. The analysis of the state of development in the early seventies clearly showed that for developing the socialist way of life it was indispensable to make the housing program the principal issue of our social policy.

We made calculations again and again in those days, trying to find out the number of apartments we would have to build and modernize to solve the housing problem, the material funds that were needed, and how the social concern to provide good accommodation for all citizens step-by-step could be mastered most effectively. Today, we can state with a clear conscience: It was well worth having tackled this gigantic challenge and its deeply social goals with all consequences and at great cost, and having met it with great consistency. All citizens of the GDR may rest assured that we will continue to do so in the coming years.

The construction workers and all participating working people of our country have given their best to reliably fulfill this long-term program year after year. Significant results in increasing labor productivity and decreasing material and energy expenditure have been achieved. The unity of new construction, modernization, and maintenance has been increasingly strengthened and improved. It is particularly encouraging to notice that the construction in the inner cities is being purposefully mastered from an architectural and town planning point of view. This becomes increasingly visible in our country's cities. The Berlin construction workers, together with their professional colleagues from all bezirke, led by the young people in the "Berlin FDJ Initiative," have done exemplary work here in the capital city. This was most highly appreciated by the visitors from all over the world who came to Berlin on the occasion of the 750th anniversary.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers, I want to extend to the construction workers, and to all those involved in housing construction, our most cordial thanks for the busy and resourceful work in implementing the housing program.

Dear Berliners, dear construction workers:

I am sure that not a few of you will remember, as I do, the wet and cold day in February 1984, when, in connection with the subsequent handing over of the 2 millionth apartment in the Arkonaplatz modernization area, we laid the foundation stone here in Hohenschoenhausen for a new city district in Berlin.

That day we stood on a building site which was characterized by underground and street engineering work. Today, after the short period of 4 and ½ years, there are not only 27,000 well-equipped apartments here, but also the relevant schools, kindergartens and day nurseries, shopping precincts, old-age and nursing homes, and many other things which constitute agreeable living conditions. New train and tramway stops have been built. The construction of a modern production plant for optoelectronic products is also making noticeable progress.

But in other places, too, many new things have been built. The development of the Berlin-Marzahn city district is about to be completed, and the construction of the latest new city district, Berlin-Hellerdorf, is well under way. Comprehensive achievements have been made in extending Berlin's utilities and industry. In the Friedrichstrasse-Otto-Grotewohl-Strasse area the outlines of the reshaping are already clearly visible. As agreed, the dignified shaping of the capital city Berlin is being continued in close relation with the housing program.

Dear friends and comrades:

With regard to our housing program, it is more than ever before a matter of achieving the highest possible efficiency with the alloted material and financial funds throughout our republic. Finding the most effective solution for construction work, which is regarded as most urgent by the citizens, continues to be of primary importance.

What has always been imperative is the creation of prerequisites for highly productive construction work with solid quality and under good working conditions in all collectives involved in housing construction, from research and development to planning and preparation of the site. In socialist competition and closely related with comparative performance appraisal, it is necessary to increase the struggle for stable optimum standards and secure the most favorable ratio of expenditure and results.

To Prepare the 40th Anniversary of the GDR With Dignity [subhead]

With a view toward the dignified preparation of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, it may be well worth to tackle and vigorously promote new initiatives. Even greater attention than so far should be paid to improve maintenance and care of existing valuable building stock. At the same time, all this corresponds to the expectations of our citizens. We are sure that they will continue to make a most valuable contribution to the improvement of the housing situation and the embellishment of our cities and communities within the "Join In" Drive.

Our housing program will be implemented until the year 1990 in firm unity of word and deed. Dear friends and comrades, this will remain the core of our party's social policy. Of course, housing will continue to remain a primary concern of our policy for the well-being of the people, according to the increasing needs of the people and the possibilities of our national economy.

Higher Productivity—a Basis of Further Social Progress [subhead]

Personally, I am most impressed by what has been created here in less than 4 and ½ years. Looking at the children here who have been raised during this period of time, every construction worker, be he involved in underground work or roofing, will be happy about what has been achieved in a short time. It will always and permanently be our task to do everything to implement not only our long-term housing program with success, but, in connection with it, to lay the foundation for further social progress in the most diverse fields. To increase labor productivity will certainly be decisive in this process. Dear construction workers, you are real masters in this respect. Those who fail to understand this are invited to look at the example here in Hohenschoenhausen.

Dear Berliners:
I cordially congratulate all of you who, as construction workers, have helped so that, today, we are able to hand over the 3 millionth apartment to its tenants; I equally cordially congratulate all those who will move into these and all other new apartments as tenants. Let us continue to muster all our strength, our initiative and our diligence for further consolidating our socialist GDR, for our people's happy lives in permanently secured peace. Friendship!

Academy Rector Speaks on Socialist Development

AU1810201088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Oct 88 p 10

[Interview with Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee and rector of the Academy for Social Sciences, by Brigitte Hering: "Developments of Socialism in Today's World Discussed"; date and place not given]

[Text] At the invitation of the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, other scientific institutions of the fraternal Soviet party, and the USSR Academy of Sciences, 400 sociologists from 12 countries discussed topical problems on the further development of socialism at a conference in Moscow from 4 to 6 October. At two plenary sessions and four group meetings, questions of theory and practice of socialist national economy, democracy, the political system of socialism, intellectual-cultural life, and the establishment of a system of international security were discussed above all. Following the 3-day conference, on 7 and 8 October a bilateral working session of the Academies for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and to the SED Central Committee took place, where the main directions of further cooperation were discussed. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND spoke with Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee and rector of the Academy for Social Sciences, who headed the 20-member GDR delegation to Moscow, about issues, course, and results of the two events.

ND: In the opening speech at the conference, Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that different forms and paths of development of socialism were considered with great caution in former times. This time is over, he said. Today the variety of forms is increasingly understood as an expression and political proof of the power of socialism and its applicability to very different socioeconomic and political conditions. Therefore, it is of particular importance to the further development of social theory to thoroughly study, take into consideration, and generalize the experiences in the individual countries, Medvedev noted. Comrade Professor Reinhold, did this issue have any effect on the discussions and did the conference give rise to new insights?

A Profound Process of Change [subhead]

Reinhold: It confirmed once more that the world of socialism is in the midst of a great process of change. This process of change certainly has different starting points and different motivating forces in the individual countries. But it also has common objective reasons. I want to recall only three of them.

When, for instance, our party program says that the shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes, this expresses the fact that these changes are first of all necessitated by the internal laws of socialism. A second general reason is the scientific-technological revolution, which is changing the productive forces at an unprecedented scope and speed and through the productive forces it is also changing all other fields of social life. To recognize these processes with farsightedness, to shape and master them in a humane way, and to link the achievements of science and technology with the advantages of our society—these are the cardinal challenges posed to all socialist states.

These processes have to be mastered—and this is the third point—under today's conditions of the conflict of the systems, the more complicated political, economic, and ideological class struggle with imperialism. The modern insight that in the nuclear age war has become an unsuitable means for politics and that peace can no longer be achieved by arming ourselves against each other but only through a prudent policy rich in initiatives, which includes dialogue and cooperation with the most varied class forces, and that it has to be ensured again and again—this dialectic of the struggle for peace and the class struggle has not actually made the conflict with imperialism easier. We are in favor of the economic and sociopolitical competition of the systems. More than ever before, this requires the development of the advantages and motive forces of socialism. Thus, in this respect, too, many new questions have to be answered and many new conclusions have to be drawn.

These requirements were clearly stated at the conference. Speakers from 12 socialist countries reported on the experiences of the fraternal parties and pertinent theoretical conclusions. No one tried to force his solutions, ideas, and concepts upon the others. Topical problems, which have to be solved today and tomorrow, as well as long-term lines of development were discussed. The all-encompassing question was: What must socialism be like at the end of our century in order to not only maintain its position in the world but to strengthen it further.

At the conference it was repeatedly stressed that international cooperation has to be further expanded in the fields of theory and ideology in order to be able to better meet the new, greater demands posed on the Marxist-Leninist social sciences. For this purpose, our party and the CPSU agreed on a comprehensive program, which determines this cooperation for the next few years.

ND: On which questions was there far-reaching agreement and where were mostly differing positions voiced?

Different Solutions for Common Goals [subhead]

Reinhold: There is agreement with regard to the goals that have to be reached and tasks that have to be tackled by all socialist countries, even though the details of the tasks are sometimes formulated differently. In principle, everyone agrees that socialist economic policy has to be guided and determined by social interests and that the economic and social development form an inseparable unit. There are also no differences in opinion with regard to the necessity of guiding the economy everywhere in the direction of intensively expanded reproduction and of developing science and technology to the greatest possible extent in the process. Everyone also assumes the position that socialist production conditions have to be speedily developed further—the system of management and planning, the forms of socialist property, the intellectual-cultural development, education, qualification, ideological attitude, and political awareness.

There are differing views on how these tasks are to be fulfilled in practice. Thus, it became clear at the conference that concerning the approach to, for instance, intensification and the scientific-technological revolution, in short, to the entire complex of the development of productive forces, there are obviously two different positions. Exaggerating a bit, one can say that some think only the system of economic management has to be changed, the forms of the production conditions have to be given more variety, market relations have to be expanded, conditions for competition have to be established, and similar things, and then the productive forces will develop at the required rate.

We are proceeding from a different concept. We think—strictly adhering to Marx—that the productive forces are the determining element of social development. Therefore, in working out the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, our party accorded so much importance to determining exactly which key technologies are decisive for the next decades and which social conditions have to be established in order to develop them more quickly and to use them effectively. This means, the development of the productive forces in our country is the starting point from which we then further shape—step-by-step and in line with the requirements of practical work—the system of management and planning, the relations between goods and money, the public education, etc.

This issue was discussed in many ways. Some Soviet sociologists admitted to have underestimated the problems of the scientific-technological revolution so far. Others, such as Professor Arkhangelskiy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stated—and I can only fully agree with this—that mastering the scientific-technological revolution is the key issue of all restructuring processes in socialist countries.

ND: Varying approaches were also noted with regard to the tasks of social sciences. Some of the speakers concentrated mainly on analyzing the past ....

We Cannot Take Over Methods From Capitalism [subhead]

Reinhold: ... In this respect it was very useful that in the main lecture Vadim Medvedev clearly stated that one must not only analyze and overcome failed developments, but that one needs, first and foremost, clear concepts about how we can make socialism successful today and tomorrow. This position was supported by many speakers. The discussion about this issue was extraordinarily important for the orientation of socio-scientific research. We are justly expected to make a constructive contribution to the further dynamic development of socialism.

ND: In the first group, which was attended by the greatest number of participants and in which much was said about economic reforms, the relationship between the political economy of socialism and the experiences of the developed capitalist countries was also discussed. How do you assess this discussion?

Reinhold: We do not live on an island in the world, and of course we have to study and analyze the experiences collected by the capitalist countries so as to be able to determine which of them are important for us. Naturally, many capitalist groups of companies have a well-functioning management for guiding scientific-technological progress. For us, however, the experiences of the trade unions are equally important. The struggle for full employment, which is being pursued by the trade unions and the workers parties in the capitalist countries, has led to the important political conclusion in the GDR that socialism will be attractive only if it masters rationalization without unemployment.

This means, that, also regarding scientific-technological progress, we cannot simply take over solutions from capitalism, but have to look for our own solutions that correspond to socialism. It is impossible to learn from capitalism how scientific-technological progress is linked with social progress. It is also impossible to learn from capitalism how the development of the economy becomes a large field of proving one's worth and developing one's personality for all people. It may sometimes be difficult to find one's own solutions and it may happen that the first solution is not the best one. But there is no other way in this matter.

In this connection, the conference again confirmed that there are no generally binding models and strategies of socialism, which can be applied in every country in the same way. Every party has to look for the best and most appropriate solutions in line with the socioeconomic and political conditions, the historic traditions, and the specific national circumstances.

Great Interest in GDR Experiences [subhead]

ND: During the discussion scientists from our delegations put forth valuable ideas on mastering the scientific-technological revolution, on the unity of economic and social policy, on socialist democracy in the GDR, on the ideological class struggle, and on the policy of dialogue and system-crossing cooperation. The great appreciation enjoyed by the experiences of the SED at this conference in Moscow was expressed in, among other things, the fact that you were given the floor as the second speaker of the opening event.

Reinhold: We appeared in Moscow under particularly favorable conditions, so to speak. Shortly before the conference, the working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev took place, where it was agreed that our parties will further deepen their cooperation in theoretical and ideological work. And we were able to invite the leadership of the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee to visit the GDR exhibition in Moscow and there discuss our policy in a very constructive way by showing them the practical results.

At the conference 17 comrades of our delegation spoke and were paid great attention. Of course, the issue of the SED's policy to ensure a dynamic economic development was very interesting for the representatives of those fraternal countries which have great problems in economic and social development.

We also explained how the GDR—at the borderline between the two social systems and big military alliances—is again and again faced with the task of reacting quickly and flexibly to new issues and of looking for specific ways and methods in the further shaping of socialism on German soil. We also discussed historical traditions, for instance the place the trade unions have occupied in the German workers movement for more than 100 years and occupy in the GDR today. A big role was also played by the experiences we have gained since 1946 in the cooperation of the SED with the friendly parties in the National Front and the cooperatives movement, which has always been closely linked with the German workers movement.

An intensive discussion on the ideological conflict and on the awareness of socialist values was caused by contributions by Erich Hahn, Guenter Heyden, and Rolf Reissig, which expounded upon, among other things, how dangerous it is to underestimate the ideological struggle in any way. Taking the GDR as an example, they showed how on the one hand we are very actively pursuing the policy of dialogue and cooperation in the international arena, and in particular in the relations between the two German states, and, on the other, we are shown day after day that the anticommunist propaganda of Western media is becoming even more intensive the more cooperation develops.

Comprehensive Research Program of SED and CPSU [subhead]

ND: What are the results of the deliberations with your partners from the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee?

Reinhold: Our cooperation has a long tradition. Over the past 2 years we have developed some new forms of cooperation. Two research groups are dealing with linking science and production in the process of intensification and with the topic of "flexible automation and development of personality." At the beginning of the year, both groups presented a scientific study with conclusions for the practical policy of our parties' Central Committees.

In general, today we have a comprehensive cooperation program. It focuses on the further shaping of the socialist society at the end of our century and on the entire complex of mastering the scientific-technological revolution. In this connection, we are dealing with questions of economic management, self-financing, the development of socialist democracy in the enterprise, the social effects of new technologies, and many other things. By the end of the year we will hold a joint session on democracy in the GDR and another one on human rights issues. And, of course, we continue to work out joint positions on the most important issue of our time, the struggle to safeguard peace.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-12 October

AU1710075888 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 8 to 13 October (no papers published on 7 October because of National Day) reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and defense minister, attended the ceremony in which Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, promoted officers of the National People's Army and the border troops in Berlin on 7 October. (8-9 October, p 2)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the military parade on National Day in Berlin on 7 October: Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. Also present was Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police. (8-9 Oct, p 1)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the ceremony in which Erich Honecker gave high state awards to meritorious citizens in Berlin on 7 October: Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Egon Krenz, Guenter Mittag, and Harry Tisch. (8-9 Oct, p 1)

The following Politburo members and candidate members welcomed Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 10 October: Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. (11 Oct, p 3)

Politburo members Horst Dohlus and Siegfried Lorenz accompanied Mongolia's Jambyn Batmonh to the Freiberg Mining Academy, where he received an honorary doctorate on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 2)

Erich Honecker handed over the 3 millionth apartment in Berlin - Hohenschoenhausen on 12 October. (13 Oct, pp 1,4)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, presented the Karl-Marx Order to the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence in Berlin on 12 October. The ceremony was also attended by Politburo member Werner Krolikowski. (13 Oct, p 2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by Spanish Ambassador Alonso Alvarez de Toledo y Merry del Val, on the occasion of his country's National Day in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 5)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR defense minister, awarded honorary names to troop commands, units, and facilities of the national People's Army in Berlin, date not given. (10 Oct, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, received Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, deputy chairman of the Cuban State Council, and chairman of the national Party Control and Revisions Committee, in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 5)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, visited the VEB "Karl Marx" Microelectronics, Erfurt, on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 5)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, in Berlin on 6 October. (8-9 Oct, p 5) Gerhard Schuerer received Ligia Elizondo, deputy secretary of the Planning and Budget Secretariat in the Ministry of the Presidency of the Republic of Nicaragua, in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 6)

Opposition Groups Announce Plans To March 23 Oct

LD2110185788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] The head of the Budapest Police Headquarters has sent a statement to MTI. The statement notes that an announcement has been made to the Budapest Police Headquarters on behalf of the representative of FIDESZ [Association of Democratic Youth, an opposition group] and some other groups. The groups wish to hold a march in the capital on 23 October to commemorate the events of October 1956.

The Budapest Police Headquarters will not permit any kind of public street gathering, demonstration, or march. The police will take the necessary steps to prevent the march, which offends the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and disturbs the peace.

Police Official Explains Ban

LD2110230288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Dr Laszlo Bella, deputy chief of the Budapest Police Headquarters, is in our studio in order to add some explanation to the statement received from MTI:

[Pele] On 18 October, the representatives of the demonstration announced in writing what they are planning for 23 October. The head of the Budapest Police Headquarters has ordered a ban on the demonstration and on every kind of public street gathering for such purposes. This is justified, first and foremost, by the maintenance of constitutional order, and by the safeguarding of public order and traffic safety. In this connection, the question arises: Recently and on several occasions public marches, large demonstrations, were allowed to take place in the capital, so why is this one not being permitted? The reason is evident. In Hungary today, it cannot be in anyone's interest for the unease caused by real problems to be heightened into anarchy, for the possibility of this happening definitely exists in street demonstrations. It is in no one's interest for the results achieved so far by the political efforts, by the expansion of democracy, and by the multifaceted work performed in the interest of the resurgence should be questionmarked, that attention and energy should be diverted from important social objectives. For this reason, we call on every sober-minded citizen to observe this order and to aid in asserting this in his community. In any case, we feel that the historical debate connected with 1956 cannot be decided by street demonstrations.

Apart from this, in connection with the demonstrations of the recent past, many people telephoned and told the police that they expect us to guarantee order in the streets and the continuity of traffic. The ban, as a matter of a fact, applies to streets and public squares. It does not affect those events which do not take place in the street. Nor does it affect the paying of respects at places of homage and cemeteries.

Democratic Forum Calls Off Marches

LD2210210788 Budapest MTI in English 1922 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—The Provisional Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which was one of the initiators of the public street commemorations planned for October 23, has made public a communique through MTI. Accordingly, in view of the fact that the Budapest Police Headquarters did not allow any kind of public street meetings, processions or demonstrations on the occasion, the Provisional Presidium requests the members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum not to participate in street meetings or demonstrations. It makes the appeal in spite of the fact that it does not agree with the decision of the police headquarters, and does so in the interest of avoiding the possible street atrocities.

Other Groups Rescind Marches

LD2310091688 Budapest MTI in English 0827 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—As reported on Saturday [22 October], the Provisional Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), which was one of the initiators of the public street commemoration, called on its members not to attend marches and demonstrations.

Late Saturday night, the following statement was forwarded to MTI: The Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Network of Free Initiatives, and the Committee for Historical Justice—condemning the negotiation conduct of the officials, and the ban by the police headquarters—announced that they will not hold the street marches planed for October 23, in the interest of avoiding street clashes.

80 Demonstrate in Budapest, 5 Detained

LD2310204988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] [Presenter] Following the various statements and appeals issued yesterday and the day before yesterday, we tonight must begin our newsreel by asking whether there have been any disturbances in the country. Our guest, who will provide the answer, is Colonel Laszlo Pella, deputy chief of the Budapest Police Headquarters. What did you observe in the streets on your way here?

[Pella] I can speak primarily about the capital, which was basically peaceful and calm. To the best of my knowledge, the same is true of the rest of the country.

[Presenter] In that case, would you be so kind as to give an account of the day's events?

[Pella] The representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and of the various organizing groups accepted the order of the head of the Budapest Police Headquarters banning assemblies and marches in the streets. A few overexcited individuals, however, attempted to carry out the original plan at various points in the capital.

[Presenter] what sort of numbers are we talking about?

[Pella] Approximately 80-100 people were involved. We met them at almost all the scenes of these events. However, partly due to the influence of their more circumspect friends, and partly in response to the orders of the police, they abandoned their plan and left.

[Presenter] What did the police do?

[Pella] The police did not do anything significant; only five people were detained.

[Presenter] Who are they? Are there well-known persons among them?

[Pella] Only one, Dr Tibor Pakh. There were no preliminary arrests; there were no measures restricting individual freedom.

[Presenter] Nor were there, it seems, any significant police measures. For example, water cannons were not used.

[Pella] No, of course not.

[Presenter] Thank you.

Teachers Establish New Independent Union

LD2110190588 Budapest Domestic Union
in Hugarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] A number of general and secondary school teachers have decided to establish a new and independent teachers' trade union. In the appeal that the teachers sent to MTI, they criticize the interest protection organization to which they belonged up to the present. They claim that in its present form the union will not be able to take an effective stand on behalf of the teachers in the future, either. They also consider it unacceptable that their demands for salary increases are rejected with references to shortfalls in the budget. According to the organizing committees, which comprise teachers in Budapest and in the provinces, their salary increase could be granted by reorganizing the budget.

The initiators of the new and independent trade union emphasize in their appeal that their most important work tool, their personality, is endangered. They take a stand on behalf of teachers' freedom of conscience against what they consider to be one-sided ideological determinations.

Union Urges Unions' Parliamentary Representation

LD2110023388 Budapest MTI in English
2112 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, Octgober 20 (MTI)—In its national conference on Thursday [20 October] the Hungarian Union of Building, Wood and Building Material Industry Workers, discussing the renewal of the trade union movement, stressed that the role of the unions in protecting and representing interests should be strengthened. The union felt it was necessary to settle union relations with the party and the government. Beside recognizing the leading role of the party, the union urged that the autonomy of the trade unions should be demonstrated in a more marked way. Therefore, they think it is time a trade union faction was founded in parliament which would take part in legislation.

MSZMP Department Chief Discusses PPF Role

LD1210102888 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Studio interview with Istvan Petrovszki, director of an MSZMP Central Committee department, by unidentified presenter—live]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] I welcome in our studio Istvan Petrovszki, director of an MSZMP Central Committee department. First of all, how does the party react to the PPF's attempt to become a partner in politics?

[Petrovszki] I can assure Comrade Huszar [PPF secretary general] that the Central Committee will receive this attempt with agreement and joy. For in my opinion also up to the present, this has been one of the most important roles of the PPF: to integrate in its own mass organization the various political views, endeavors, and interests in society on the one hand; and on the other it is virtually excluded from offering a political alternative to the Central Committee, or to the party, to be more precise. [passage omitted]

[Presented] In practice does the party accept the organizations which the PPF accepts as partners?

[Petrovszki] Yes. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] In the 1990 election of deputies, is it possible that there will be candidates of the MSZMP, of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, of the New March Front, and of organizations still to be founded?

[Petrovszki] I believe so. Every legally functioning social organization and movement will then have the right to put up candidates, to nominate persons who, after negotiations, will figure within the PPF framework. That is, some will renounce in favor of others the right of nomination. Thus the two, three, or four candidates will emerge who will be named on the voting list in a given constituency.

[Presenter] In this basic stance I feel that the party will in the near future recognize the functioning of several parties, of other parties, as well.

[Petrovszki] It is not a question of the operation of several parties, but of those citizens' organizations, of organizations, movements which are set up by the citizens, which in fact will be present in pluralism, in socialist pluralism, in our country, and which will have the right to put up candidates for the council member and National Assembly elections. These will be quasi-parties. The conditions, I think, have not yet really ripened in Hungary for parties to be formed in the foreseeable future here. All the more so...

[Presenter, interrupting] But you expect there may be?

[Petrovszki] In principle there is no real obstacle to this. But the present conditions and the foreseeable political structure, I believe, will be rather between this type of pluralistic, politically pluralistic, social organizations, which so far cannot actually organize themselves into parties. We will see later, but I do not believe they even want to do so.

Pozsgay on Possible Multiparty System

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by correspondent Zsuzsa Simonfi on 7 October; place not given]
LD0810105988 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] The Hungarian Political Sciences Society, the Political Education Directorate of the MSZMP Budapest Committee, and the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge held a conference on Friday [7 October] under the title "Reform Plans and Alternatives."

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay took part and gave a lecture entitled "The Political System of Socialism and the Tendencies of its Development." Here Zsuzsa Simonfi speaks with him:

[Begin recording] [Simonfi] Mr Minister, you said in your speech that today, in 1988, we must face the possibility of a multiparty system. At the same time, I think that the alternative movements which are coming into being are all somehow moving toward the one-party system.

[Pozsgay] There is this kind of contradiction, and my thought now is not that we now have to declare for the multiparty system—I am thinking of the fact that the party which exercises power and which is responsible for governing must think through this perspective, too. Moreover, in principle, in theory, it cannot oppose it either, for if anywhere, it is precisely in Marxism that there is a very important intention about the role of divisions and parties. Marx says that where there are no divisions and parties, there is no progress either. The party itself, in its own structure and makeup, could not resolve this pluralism; it perpetually returns to the monolithic exercise of power, and to voluntarist decisions. So, this was the logical disputation of my argument, and it was from this that I tried to expound the institutional form, which in my opinion will not come about through recipes but rather will develop in this sphere of movement.

I understand your question as to whether this sphere of movement is heading toward true pluralism. Inasmuch as it comes into being on the periphery, and that it is a deadly, hostile opponent of the relations of the system, then it cannot achieve this pluralism through this. If it is too conformist and supposes the present power arrangement to be unchangable, then it is for this reason that it will not achieve this.

I think these extremes can be avoided. These movements will see during their own functioning that although there is not yet the possibility of organizing parties amid today's relations of the political culture, they, on the basis of a democratic consensus, can be the bearers of a party organization. I repeat, it is not certain that this will be the path of the future, but I am sure that this must be calculated into the formulation of a picture of the future.

[Simonfi], You also said that this monopolistic situation of the exercise of power also has to end. This is one of the fundamentals. Does this help or hinder the creation of these alternative movements?

[Pozsgay] It hinders it at present. It hinders it from the point of view that it pushes them in the direction of acute tendencies and criticism, for they look for demarcations rather than looking for cooperation and real dialogue. And in this I cannot reproach these movements if this derives from the method of exercising power. I was thinking of this when I mentioned the argument that the whole system of exercising power must be settled in the state organization, and within this the principle of the classical division of the branches of power must be asserted so that there is a balance between these—that is, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Or, perhaps, where the people exercise it directly, through referenda or self-direction, this system must really be built up institutionally. [end recording]

Finance Minister Views Reform, Stock Exchange

LD1010214588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Nearly one-quarter of the national income, 200 billion forints, is distributed by the budget in the form of state subsidies, and at least 3 to 4 years are still necessary for this situation to cease to exist, Minister of Finance Miklos Villanyi stated at a 2-day consultation of specialists which began today in Szeplak. Laszlo Gardai sums up the minister's talks:

[Gardai] Domestic prices must be made to compete with foreign ones. State intervention must be further reduced. A modern competition law is necessary in which unjustified monopoly situations cease to exist. These are merely a few of the conditions without which a genuine market economy cannot exist.

Miklos Villanyi also said that state intervention must be further reduced. Thus, a reform of the budget is necessary. A rethinking of the role of the state presupposes that paternalistic conduct ceases. The redistribution of over 200 billion forints presently takes place in the form of subsidies. According to plans, 3 to 4 years are necessary for it to be possible to cut back subsidies.

Next year, for example, state financing of coal mining, metallurgy, and the agricultural branch will cease. Similarly, the state subvention of ruble—and certain consumer—items will also cease. Along with this, a freer wage management policy is necessary, which would considerably increase the independence of enterprises.

The company law creates the possibility for numerous new forms of property, but simultaneously with this, the impersonal operation of state property ought to be stopped. For this, the assistance of politics, namely patience and moderation, are necessary, of course. Therefore, there should be intervention in the processes only at places and at times when they are opposed to the interests of society.

The time is not far away, Miklos Villanyi said, when the stock exchange, which is the most obvious means of capital flow, will have to come into being. Miklos Villanyi noted that a well-organized, efficiently operating economy is not possible without a convertible forint. For this reason, every measure must serve this objective.

The minister of finance also mentioned, among the expected changes, that social insurance would be detached from the budget. Thus, firms, as from January, will have to pay 42-percent social insurance contributions. The deteriorating living conditions make it necessary for the principle of need to be asserted more than ever in social policy and in the pension system. In the future, self-insurance and self-provisions will acquire a larger role.

There was less time than necessary to prepare the new tax system, but the increasingly worsening economic performances urged a rapid decision. To the question put by many people, on whether the January introduction of the tax system was an excessively hasty measure, the minister replied with an unequicocal yes. Society at present attributes the deterioration in the living standard to the new tax system. This, however, would have happened in any event, and furthermore, in a manner in which those in the worst situation would have been even more afflicted. With this, it would be a grave mistake to retreat from the tax system; however, small changes are necessary. One, for example, is that the income band without taxation begins at a disproportionately low point. Furthermore, up to the 180,000-forint limit, the progression is too great.

At the December changes, what will be considered is not just that taxation should have less of an impact on restraining performance, but that with the knowledge of the year's data, the tax tables will be altered while taking into account the scale of inflation. Revenue to date is 39 billion forints, and it is shaping up according to calculations. In the same way, the scale of revenue stemming from the general turnover tax was also well estimated. At the enterprises, however, profits are greater than planned. Many people attribute the considerable increase in the consumer price level to the taxes.

According to Miklos Villanyi, this conclusion is erroneous. Nothing other has happened than that the inflation which hitherto had existed covertly has now appeared openly. No matter how much we would like it to be so, inflation is not an issue of economic decision, said the minister. It can be curbed by official means for only a short time. As for this issue, the economy's existing productive capacity is the determining factor.

Opinion Poll on 27 Sep MSZMP CC Meeting

AU1210142888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Oct 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Great Interest in the CC Meeting Documents—Quick Opinion Poll Among NEPSZABADSAG Readers"]

[Text] On 28 and 29 September public opinion researchers from the newspaper publishing house carried out a survey among NEPSZABADSAG readers about the MSZMP Central Committee session of 27 September and about NEPSZABADSAG's coverage of this meeting. A total of 246 interviews was compiled during the survey and, according to sex, age, and profession, those interviewed made up a representative selection of NEPSZABADSAG readers.

Some 85.8 percent of those surveyed followed the meeting with attention; and 83 percent of them read our reports on the July Central Committee session, compared to 59 percent on previous occasions.

The great number of people who followed several types of mass media also shows the interest manifested toward this Central Committee session: 65 percent of the people interviewed watched the television news in addition to the NEPSZABADSAG reports; 18 percent also listened to radio reports; and 6 percent also read other dailies.

Some 87.2 percent of the people surveyed read the speech delivered by Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo and CC secretary, about the party's situation and on domestic policy issues, including 61.1 percent who read the whole speech and 26.1 percent who read only parts of the speech.

Some 86.3 percent of the people surveyed read the speech of MSZMP CC Secretary Matyas Szuros on foreign policy and international issues, and 76.8 percent read the proposals made by Politburo member Rezso Nyers on the bodies to be set up.

Some 72.5 percent of the people read the report on the debate (29.9 percent read all the speeches, and 42.6 percent read only some of these speeches).

Some 46.2 percent of the people surveyed could identify with one of the debate speeches. The following names were mentioned: Ivan T. Berend, chairman of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (21 percent); Csaba Hamori, KISZ Central Committee first secretary (19.1 percent); Gyorgy Aczel, general director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the MSZMP Central Committee (17.1 percent); and Gyula Horn, Foreign Ministry state secretary (8 percent).

Some 94.2 percent of the persons surveyed considered positive the fact that NEPSZABADSAG had published opinions concerning personnel.

For 65 percent of NEPSZABDSAG's readers a certain moment within the Central Committee meeting represented an interesting event and piece of information. One-fifth of the people surveyed pointed out the openness and courage of the debate. Some 16 percent pointed out Matyas Szuros' speech, and 10 percent specified out the Janos Lukacs' speech, as well as the debate over a multiparty system. A smaller group of people (7 percent) did not regard it as justified to keep personnel decisions secret.

Some 62 percent of the people surveyed answered the question on the debate during the Central Committee meeting: One-fifth of the people felt there was a difference of opinion concerning the evaluation of reform and of the country's economic and political situation. Some 18 percent saw no debate at all, or at least not one published by the media. Some 15 percent of the people surveyed mentioned the debate between Gyorgy Aczel and Csaba Hamori on the concept of communism. According to 15 percent of the people surveyed, there was no agreement among the Central Committee members concerning the evaluation of the party's current situation and its future. Close to 10 percent of the people perceived differences of opinion on the following issues:

—one-party system, multiparty system;

—party unity, party discipline, freedom of platform, freedom of opinion;

—the party's relations with alternative movements and the new political phenomena.

Some 49.7 percent of the readers considered the domestic policy evaluation of the Central Committee to be realistic; 40.2 percent regarded it as too optimistic (mainly readers under 30); and 10.4 percent regarded this evaluation as pessimistic (mainly the age group over 60.)

John Whitehead Cited on U.S. Ties, Romania

LD2110084488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, having concluded his East European tour, has held a news conference in Brussels, the Headquarters of NATO. Denes Baracs reports:

[Begin Baracs recording] [Passage omitted] In his opening statement, the U.S. politician emphasized that what he saw could be best described by the word change. He noticed a change in the economic, political, and social sectors, and what's more a very rapid one. This rate of change is particularly fast in Hungary and Poland, while in his view, it is somewhat less speedy in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Bulgaria—only Ceausescu's Romania denies the necessity of economic and political change.

In his summation, Whitehead expressed the most praise for the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations. He said that, with Karoly Grosz in the lead, all of his Hungarian partners at the talks assured him about their commitment to reform, while he also said that Washington intended to support the positive changes in Hungary. He noted that bilateral relations are very good, and that he and the Hungarian leaders further reviewed creative methods for additional improvements.

At Whitehead's news conference, the situation in Romania received great emphasis. Both in his prepared statement and in his replies to questions from reporters, Whitehead described as deeply upsetting [melyen megrazo] and outrageous [felhaborito] the events taking place in Romania, namely the destruction of villages of which he, too, was personally able to find evidence, the supply situation of the public, and the denial of human rights. He declared that both in the talks with Romanian leaders and in public, Washington expressed its view but that it was hardly able to do more. At the same time he pointed out that Romania must take seriously U.S. concerns regarding the human rights situation if Romania wishes to stabilize bilateral relations. If Romania wishes to improve these relations, then this is all the more applicable. [end recording]

Official Interviewed on Plight of 'Refugees'

LD1810105888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 18 Oct 88

["Morning Dialogue" program; interview with Ferenc Nemeth, head of the Budapest Council's Coordinating Committee on refugees, by Miklos Omola, on 17 October in Budapest]

[Excerpts] A postal address: Budapest, 28 Tanacs Boulevard. This is where the office of the Budapest Council's Coordinating Committee operates, where the affairs of refugees from Transylvania are dealt with. [passage omitted] Miklos Omola went to the coordinating office yesterday, where he spoke with the head of the office, Ferenc Nemeth, as well as with some refugees who just happened to be there. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Nemeth] Characteristically, some 80, 100, indeed 150 people come to the office daily. Since March, nearly 13,000 people have visited this office. Let there be no misunderstanding: They are not all people who have newly arrived; there are some who call on the office several times.

[Omola] What are your personal experiences? Do many people come illegally, escaping across the border without any papers?

[Nemeth] In the past weeks, characteristically many people have come. Earlier, the number of those arriving with passports was predominant. In the past 1-2 weeks, however, very many families have arrived in Hungary via the so-called (?land border). The reason for this obviously is that the Romanian authorities generally do not issue passports to families.

[Omola] Do you hear of tragic cases, of fatal cases?

[Nemeth] There have been people who have arrived with such stories, that they came with a sibling, and that the sibling did not arrive in Hungary.

[Omola] When did you come?

[Unidentified woman] Exactly a week ago.

[Omola] How did you get here?

[Woman] It was not far, but I had to escape. I came with a child, and it was not the easiest thing. [passage omitted]

[Omola] As far as I am aware, there are two temporary hostels at your disposal, but I have heard that one of them will have to be closed down soon, because it is not suitable for winter accommodations.

[Nemeth] Yes, we set up a temporary camp on [name indistinct] Street, but it appears that we cannot make it suitable for use in winter. So, the Killian Barracks will be what remains. However, if people come in such numbers from Transylvania, this possibility for accommodations will be too small. [passage omitted]

[Omola] Do you hear of sad cases when, to be sure, those who have resettled here from Translyvania are taken advantage of? That is, are they abused, do they work for starvation wages, or after they have done a certain task do they end up in the street again?

[Unidentified coordinating committee official] Unfortunately, that is a terribly bad aspect of these things. There are such things—an hourly wage of 20 forints. It is terrible that a family which is starting from scratch and which is here with only the clothes in which it escaped works for such wages amid such conditions. The same thing happens in in practice, in cases where individuals offer accommodations. Often, we have found that they require other services from these unfortunate people. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Official Outlines Residency Requirements

LD1910095088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In a program this morning, we did not manage to find a reassuring answer to the question of what will happen to those refugees from Transylvania whose temporary residence permits will shortly expire. Katalin Horvath has spoken to Lieutenant Colonel Dr Karoly Nagy, director of the National Central Office for the Supervision of Foreigners.

[Begin recording] [Horvath] The news has spread that those refugees who do not receive a statement confirming they have housing will be sent back to Romania.

[Nagy] Those who wish to remain in Hungary are given a 2-year residence permit, in preparation for settlement. With this permit, apart from political rights, they have the same rights as Hungarian citizens for finding work and for pursuing education. Those who work have the same legal and social security rights. We trust that, inasmuch as conditions make this possible, those who are in Hungary, who wish to return to their motherland, will have this option guaranteed.

[Horvath] What conditions are there for settling?

[Nagy] The foreigner must have the means of livelihood ensured, and he must have suitable housing—that is, housing which will offer the possibility of permanent residence.

[Horvath] Can this housing be a workers' hostel?

[Nagy] Yes. So it is not just a notarized statement of assured housing but it can also be a rental contract; we are flexible on this. [end recording]

Varkonyi Interviewed on UN Session, UN Role

LD1910232088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 88

[From "The Week" program; interview with Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] People everywhere are calling for words to have value, for things to be called by their names. [passage omitted] A similar endeavor is operating in Hungarian diplomacy, which, as is shown by our first interview today, even as the United Nations is trying to act as a type of genuine diplomacy and as one that is genuinely Hungarian:

[Correspondent] Previously, many people believed—and not entirely without grounds—that the United Nations was merely a helpless association dealing with unimportant matters. Now, it appears that the role of the United Nations has appreciated in value. What did you experience this time at the General Assembly? What has changed, and what is undergoing change?

[Varkonyi] Without a doubt the 43d General Assembly, which has just begun, at the end of September, has, and is, taking place in much more favorable conditions than any of the previous general assemblies. I would not agree that the United Nations was previously an association dealing with unimportant matters: It was a very important international forum. However, properly speaking, the confrontation which was present in international politics was also reflected in the United Nations Organization. Now, however, because the international situation has undergone considerable modification due to the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, this is also reflected in the United Nations Organization.

I could say—in my speech I described it—that in essence we achieved a psychological breakthrough in the past year in international politics. This means that there is not yet a breakthrough in the arms sector, disarmament, but there is a breakthrough in the mood and in the efforts.

Now, the United Nations is worth as much as what is wanted by the 159 member states. If the member states really want the United Nations to work and function and to be an effective international organization, then it is an effective international organization. The United Nations' role has now appreciated in value in the elaboration of and accomplishment of agreements for settling conflicts, and in overseeing these agreements. And for this reason, the United Nations' role has certainly grown in value.

[Correspondent] Did others, as well, share this opinion at the General Assembly?

[Varkonyi] Yes, well, I met a great many foreign ministers—I participated in 28-30 bilateral meetings. One of my counterparts—I believe it was U.S. Secretary of State Shultz—said that properly speaking, there is a revolving door here for foreign ministers—one comes in while the other goes out. It is often said of Hungarians that if they are the last to enter a revolving door, they come out in front. I tried to achieve this, but sometimes it was difficult.

[Correspondent] (?You have) a certain advantage, for I believe that you hold talks with the foreign ministers without the help of an interpreter.

[Varkonyi] Yes, these are very brief, effective talks. They are 25-30 minutes long. The common language is English.

[Correspondent] Is it possible to attain results in a short time?

[Varkonyi] Yes, because at such times both the negotiating sides are very determined.

[Correspondent] In your speech delivered at the General Assembly, you sharply criticized the disadvantageous discrimination of the national minorities living in our region. I believe that it was the first occasion on which you raised Hungary's voice in the United Nations for the national minorities and thus, for the Hungarians in Romania.

[Varkonyi] I would correct you a little. At the UN Organization's General Assembly we—and I, personally, as well—have dealt for years with the problem of the nationalities issue. In my current speech I raised the issue, and with great emphasis, that nationality rights, and thus individual and collective rights, ought to be codifed by international law, similarly to human rights. It is generally known that we consider human rights to be an important factor in shaping an international security system. We are of the opinion that an international security system cannot be created solely by military, economic, and cultural factors, but that the human rights issue also has a role in this; and within the framework of human rights, it is an important task for the community of nations to defend and follow, with attention, the rights, the individual and collective rights, of the national minorities. Well, here, of course, I have stated our stand on bases of principle.

[Correspondent] Concrete proposals?

[Varkonyi] There were no concrete proposals here. The concrete proposal pertained to international law, codifying the representation and protection of nationality rights, because this creates the possibility of us precluding, for once and all, the basis for alluding that the nationality issue is exclusively a domestic affair.

Moreover, 500,000 Hungarians live in the Vojvodina autonomous region belonging to the Serbian Republic, and we consider it important that there should be success in preserving and further developing their nationality rights, which up to the present have been ensured in an exemplary manner. The Hungarian nationality living in Yugoslavia, and the southern Slav nationalities living in our country, provide a good example of constituting a genuine bridge between the two countries. We would like this bridge to become broader.

Marjai Discusses CEMA Reform Measures

LD2110154488 Budapest MTI in English 1420 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—When all is said, the frontlines in the CMEA remained unchanged in the major issues, and only minor 'cosmetic' changes took place in minor issues, said retired deputy prime minister, Mr Jozsef Marjai, about the latest session of the CMEA Executive Committee held in Moscow. Mr Marjai was attending the conference for the last time as permanent Hungarian representative. The discussion is carried in the latest issue of the economic weekly FIGYELO.

Discussions at the session included the issue of whether the CMEA's price-setting system should also extend to services, mainly in the case of facilities built jointly by the CMEA countries.

However, the Soviet Union and the three developing socialist countries, Cuba, Vietnam and Mongolia—where such joint projects were or are planned to be built—maintained their stand that accountings be realized on the basis of their own price systems and norms. The Hungarian side 'firmly stated that the interestedness of the other CMEA countries, including Hungary, in building joint projects in other member states will be eliminated on this basis', Mr Marjai said.

He acknowledged that for Hungary, one rouble costs more in the case of building the Ust-Ilimsk cellulose factory or exploring the Yamburg natural gas site, than it could exploit with goods deliveries. However, the natural gas ensured in this way is still less expensive than if it were purchased elsewhere or replaced by other energy sources.

With the exception of the GDR and Romania, all member states agree with the idea of a common market within the CMEA member states, and even the GDR modified its position at the latest conference. It voiced its readiness to adapt to the steps taken towards a uniform CMEA common market, although it does not apply these elements in its own national mechanism. Differences continue to exist with respect to priorities, Mr Marjai added.

He pointed out that the Hungarian side clearly expressed its view that non-existent markets cannot be unified, and efforts to this end would even jeopardize the many positive elements that still exist in the CMEA.

It should, however, be acknowledged that radical transformation will doubtless be accompanied by a temporary decline in relations, as capital formation stands at a low level in the socialist countries, and the utilization of external sources is limited everywhere, apart from the Soviet Union.

Mr Jozsef Marjai reconfirmed that, because of the prevailing differences between the internal mechanisms of the member states, the conditions are simply not there to modify the much-debated inter-state contingent system.

This will probably be sustained for some time, with the only difference that part of goods contingents will be set in value, and a few per cent of them will be made up of direct deliveries between companies.

Criticizing the price system of the CMEA in the interview, Mr Marjai said the exchange rate of the transferable rouble, the joint accounting unit of the CMEA, against individual CMEA currencies and the US dollar and other convertible currencies is not realistic, and therefore the exchange rate ratios between individual CMEA countries become distorted and unrealistic, too.

Hungary maintains its proposal that the CMEA member countries reimburse a set part of their goods turnover, and the balance in hard currency to one another, Mr Marjai said.

This would increase export orientation within the CMEA, while now each country is hungry for imports because of a 'shortage economy'.

Karpati Returns From Prague Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD1810223688 Budapest MTI in English 2144 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, who headed a military delegation to the Prague session of the committee of defence ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states, returned to Budapest on Tuesday [25 October].

Bilateral Trade Agreement Signed With GDR

LD2110032388 Budapest MTI in English 2054 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—On Thursday [20 October] in Budapest, Mr Miklos Andriko, Hungarian state secretary for trade, and Mr Werner Jurich, state secretary for trade and supply of the GDR, signed an agreement on bilateral exchange of consumer goods for 1989 to the value of 4,400 million forints, which surpasses this year's turnover by 10 per cent. Among the articles the Hungarian companies are to import from the GDR are textiles, ready-made clothes, electric household appliances, household lighting appliances and shoes. In return, they will deliver to the GDR ready-made clothes, knitwear, shoes, champagne, tinned vegetables and fruit, and other consumer articles. The sides agreed that next year 44 Hungarian and 44 GDR department stores and companies would directly cooperate with one another.

We know that a guarantee of nationality rights, and that arranging nationality affairs, naturally constitutes every country's domestic affair, but this also has international aspects, and international obligations also burden every single state where national minorities live. The overseeing of international obligations, as well as the attentive following of international obligations, are important international tasks.

[Correspondent] Is there any hope that this proposal might be formulated in some manner?

[Varkonyi] This proposal was received well. General agreement was exhibited in connection with the Hungarian People's Republic having made its voice heard on the nationality issue in this manner at the UN Organization's General Assembly, precisely because the Hungarian minority, as I said at several places, is the largest minority in Europe; and that how the situation of these people is settled is not a matter of indifference.

MSZMP Delegation Leaves for PRC, MPR

LD1910201388 Budapest MTI in English
1235 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—A party delegation, led by Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, left for Mongolia and China on Wednesday [19 October].

The delegation is meeting invitations from the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

The delegation was seen off by Zhu Ankang, ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Hungary, Dangaasurengiyn Saldan, ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic to Hungary, and Vladlen Puntus, counsellor of legation of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Budapest.

Lukacs Meets Razumovskiy in Moscow

LD2010025588 Budapest MTI in English
2037 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, October 19 (MTI)—On Wednesday [19 October] Mr Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP [MSZMP] Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, who is heading a delegation to the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China, interrupted his trip for a short while in Moscow, and held talks with Mr Georgiy Razumovskiy candidate member of the CPSU CC PC [Political Committee; as received] and secretary of the Central Committee.

The two politicians supplied information about the major home policy events that had occurred since the HSWP and the CPSU party conferences this year, and the tasks currently faced by their respective parties. The sides surveyed the topical issues of comprehensive cooperation between the HSWP and the CPSU.

Assembly Speaker Stadinger Leaves for PRC 13 Oct

LD1410085088 Budapest MTI in English
1632 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 13 (MTI)—A delegation headed by Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, left for China on Thursday [13 October] at the invitation of Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Delegation Returns 21 Oct

LD2210084288 Budapest MTI in English
2035 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Mr Istvan Stadinger, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, who headed a parliamentary delegation to China, returned to Budapest on Friday [21 October]. The delegation was invited by the Chinese parliament.

Radio Urges Rapid Resolution of Yugoslav Unrest

LD1310125188 Budapest in Hungarian
to Europe 2000 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Let us now consider, for a few minutes, the events in Yugoslavia. Reports are coming in from several republics of Yugoslavia of several thousand people—in one place more than 100,000—demonstrating. The participants generally urge a settling of the tense economic and political situation by means of democratic reforms, but in recent days nationalistic overtones have gained in strength.

In Yugoslav history, the relationship between the various southern Slavs and other nationalities and the elimination of differences in the degree of economic development in the Republic have always been central issues and not rarely the source of differences. The crisis phenomena which have gained strength in recent years have brought the various tensions even more forcefully to the surface. [passage omitted]

We Hungarians, naturally, do not wish to intervene in the dispute between the Yugoslav republics. On the contrary, we have an interest in strengthening the unity of friendly Yugoslavia, for that country's stability is of fundamental importance not only from the viewpoint of good-neighborly relations, but also for all of Europe's peace and security. We hope that our Yugoslav friends will find a means to ease the tensions, and that the situation will be normalized as soon as possible. At the same time, we observe with anxiety the strengthening of nationalistic efforts because we know that nationalism always and primarily has served to cover up internal problems, and that it has not facilitated the genuine elevation of a people.

Plans for Joint Soviet Trade Bank Explored

AU1910144088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the Hungarian National Bank, returned from Moscow on 5 October. Ferenc Bartha visited Moscow between 10 and 12 October at the invitation of Nikolay Garetovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank, and held talks with the heads of the USSR State Bank, the USSR Foreign Economic Bank, and of the Soviet Finance Ministry, as well as with the leading members of the CPSU Central Committee. During his talks, the sides reviewed bilateral cooperation and exchanged views on international financial issues. They reached an agreement on studying ways of establishing a Soviet-Hungarian trade bank. Ferenc Bartha held talks with Albert Belichenko, chairman of the International Investment Bank, and Vasha Dzhindzhikadze, chairman of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation.

Pope Receives Cardinal Paskai in Rome

AU1310130288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Oct 88 p 7

[Text] On Wednesday evening, 6 October, Pope John Paul II met privately with Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom, on the occasion of the pilgrimage of the Hungarian believers to Rome on the 950th anniversary of Saint Stephen's death.

In front of St. Peter's Basilica, during the traditional Wednesday morning papal audience, Pope John II greeted the Hungarian group together with the other believers from various parts of the world and from various countries. During his speech, which he began in Italian and continued in Hungarian, the pope did not mention the Hungarian invitation extended to him, but announced that during the Wednesday papal audience he would meet again with the Hungarian group.

During the anniversary pilgrimage, Hungarian priests will hold sermons in various churches in Rome on Sunday. On Friday, Cardinal Laszlo Paskai [8 October] will officially take over the Church of Santa Theresia, his ritual church. Members of secondary school choirs, who came from Hungary, will perform in a joint concert on Sunday.

Imre Miklos Holds Talks at Vatican

LD1710171788 Budapest MTI in English 1457 GMt 17 Oct 88

[Text] Rome, October 17 (MTI)—Headed by Under-Secretary of State Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs, a Hungarian church delegation held official talks in the Vatican. The negotiating group of the Vatican was headed by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, nuncio with special mandate. The Hungarian delegation met Archbishop Angelo Sodano, secretary of state and the Council for the Public Affairs of the church (foreign minister), and Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state and prefect of the Council for the Public Affairs of the church.

Imre Miklos called on the generals of the Cisterician and Franciscan orders and met the secretary of the order of Jesuits.

"The discussions formed part of the regular Hungarian-Vatican talks," Imre Miklos said to MTI. "We agreed on the appointment of suffragan bishops and discussed other issues of concern, such as the limited enforcement of human rights including those of minorities, and the freedom of religion in Europe. We also held preliminary talks on the planned visit of John Paul II to Hungary."

The delegation attended the mass celebrated in honour of the 10th anniversary of the pope's election. After the ceremony Imre Miklos conveyed the good wishes of the Hungarian Government to the pontiff, stressing that his visit is preceded by keen interest among Hungarian Catholics and the entire society.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Sep-13 Oct

AU2010083688 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 1 to 12 October report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in a session of the Pest County MSZMP Committee on 30 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Oct, p 4)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in a festive aktiv meeting held at the Air Force Technological College in Szolnok on 30 September, on the occasion of the anniversary of this Air Force unit. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Oct, p 4)

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social welfare and health, chaired a meeting of the National Health Preservation Council in parliament on 30 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Oct, p 6)

Judit Csehak left for an official visit to Great Britain at the invitation of the British Government on 2 October. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 3 Oct, p 7)

Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in a reception held by the GDR Embassy in Budapest on 6 October, on the occasion of that country's national day. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Oct, p 7)

Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, paid a working visit to the Budapest 6th District MSZMP Committee on 11 October. (NEPSZABADSAG, 12 Oct, p 5)

Rakowski Returns From Moscow, Makes Statement
LD2110225488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski has ended his 1-day friendly and working visit to Moscow and has returned to Poland. [passage omitted] At the airport, Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke to our reporter:

[Begin Rakowski recording] The visit was for 1 day only but it was very exhaustive, in the sense that the talks with Premier Ryzhkov lasted 3 hours, and 2 hours with General Secretary Gorbachev. They discussed all issues of interest to both our countries. Above all, they confirmed what, in fact, is obvious to us but it is always pleasant to hear it, that both countries have the same viewpoint on the need for deep transformations in socialism, both in its social and economic structures. This is, after all, an obvious fact and has not only political significance for today but also has historic significance.

Apart from this, I was captivated by the exceptionally friendly and warm atmosphere which was displayed to us and to me personally. I met with an enormous number of wishes that the government which I lead—it is an obvious point—[words indistinct] I am thinking here of the economic sphere [word indistinct] to Poland.

The conviction was also expressed that we still have enormous possibilities in the sphere of development in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, which also fully covers my assessment of the current state of Polish- Soviet relations. I think that these relations are very good but there are still very many fields which may be cultivated. [end recording]

Rakowski Visit To Soviet Union Reviewed
LD2210021888 Warsaw PAP in English
2332 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 21—PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski paid a working visit of friendship to the USSR today.

A very intensive programme of the visit started in the morning with talks between the Polish premier and CPSU CC Political Bureau member and Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. After his talks with Premier Ryzhkov, Rakowski met Political Bureau Member and CPSU CC Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev.

The Soviet Government gave a luncheon in honour of the Polish guest and officials accompanying him during the visit. On the Soviet part, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Yuri Maslyukov, Nikolay Talyzin and other officials arrived.

Ryzhkov and Rakowski delivered toasts.

In the afternoon, M.F. Rakowski was received by CPSU CC General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mikhail Gorbachev presented his observations and assessments of deep changes made in the USSR. The people comes out for restructuring, he said. We must build relations in all spheres of our life differently than so far by openness and democratization, by a state ruled by law and order. We discover anew for ourselves the entire depth of the Leninist assertion that socialism is a live creation of masses.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented the situation in Poland and tasks of the new government. He said that the government was entirely determined to give priority to solving particularly sore social problems such as housing construction and production of items of everyday use. It will be necessary to verify the structure of investments and to more fully use possibilities of all sectors of the economy. Understanding of the necessity to consolidate all social forces on constructive platform is growing in Poland's political life.

Discussing questions of Soviet and Polish international policy, the interlocutors voiced their intention to cooperate with other state-parties to the Warsaw Treaty in active implementation of the concept of the common European house and peace initiatives of Socialist states.

Gorbachev wished Rakowski great success at his new and responsible post. Political Bureau Member and CPSU CC Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev took part in the talks held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

A joint communique was published at the end of the visit.

Rakowski Interviewed on Talks With Gorbachev
LD2110214188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mieczyslaw Rakowski has ended his working visit to Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] Mr Premier, you had a very intensive program. The meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev lasted nearly 2 hours.

[Rakowski] (?All but 5 minutes).

[Interviewer] Let me ask you, therefore, for your impressions, your evaluation.

[Rakowski] Impressions from a conversation with Gorbachev are always good because he is an exceptionally interesting interlocutor, a man who thinks in historic categories; he sees long-term prospects but also everything that is happening in the Soviet Union today. What is particularly striking is his enormous concern for the program of perestroyka. He clearly perceives all obstacles and hindrances. At the same time, he believes that they can be overcome because he reaches the public. He is not only able to establish contact with the public but, from what he says, (above all) one senses that he understands perfectly people's expectations. He is, as an interlocutor, an exceptionally interesting partner.

[Interviewer] There is often talk about the convergence between our restructuring, our renewal and the Soviet perestroyka.

[Rakowski] Our thinking concerning the reconstruction or the remodelling of socioeconomic and political structures is making its way in the same direction as the thinking of our Soviet friends and, specifically, that of General Secretary Gorbachev. That is, as I perceive it, each side understands the specificity of its partner, but, in these general assumptions, there is no difference. I would say that it is a historic opportunity for Poland, this opportunity opening up prospects for the tightening of links with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet nations, with the Russians, and with the other nations living in this great country and continent. In my opinion, this is an exceptionally interesting situation. [end recording]

Officials, Opposition Speak on Roundtable Talks

Gdula on Modalities, 'Threats' to Talks

LD2210182588 Warsaw PAP in English
1723 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 22—"It should be expected that the "round table" meeting will last for three to four weeks. At the present moment about eighty people are expected to take part in it. It is being proposed that the talks also be held in problem teams. The first would deal with issues of economic development, the second—with the transformations in the political system of our state, and the third—would review issues of the future of the trade union movement," said the head of the PUWP CC Socio-Legal Department, Andrzej Gdula, during Friday's national conference of worker activists.

"We expect that the 'round table' will see a rapprochement of views on various and basic economic and social problems. If progress is made in this respect a Council of National Agreement will be established. It would deal with, among other things, the preparation of a parliamentary election platform," Gdula said.

Gdula also pointed to the threats to the "round table" meeting, examples of creating accomplished facts, inciting unrest, organization of provocative street demonstrations as well as the lack of positive declarations from some of the people chosen as representatives to the "round table" talks and the use of political blackmail prior to the beginning of these talks. "Whereas public peace is simply indispensable for these talks and in the period preceding them," Gdula stressed.

Urban on Walesa, Talks Delay

LD2210174788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1505 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Statement by Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at a briefing for journalists on 22 October—recorded]

[Text] Some Western media have been implying that the Polish authorities are trying to delay the beginning of the roundtable talks or to abandon them altogether. For example, on 21 October REUTER quoted Lech Walesa as saying that the government is perhaps trying to back out of the talks and that the authorities would like to, I quote: break off the talks and blame the other side for it. I do not know whether this is the case, but it seems to be the case. End of quote.

From the very beginning we wanted—and we still want—to sit down at the roundtable as soon as possible. The roundtable has been our, and not anybody else's initiative. It was an initiative announced by General Czeslaw Kiszczak. We proposed during Gen Kiszczak's conversation with Lech Walesa that the roundtable start work at the beginning of October. At Lech Walesa's request, an approximate date was settled. This was to be in mid-October. Later, the date 17 October was announced. In connection with a suggestion by church authorities, the beginning of the talks was postponed because church officials due to take part in the roundtable were to return to Poland from Rome the evening of 24 October.

Before the roundtable meeting, various agreements concerning how it will function need to be made, because we do not want to make decisions in a one-sided manner. There are various matters: who is (?invited), where the roundtable will be held, how many working teams there will be, etc. We also have to discuss and remove discrepancies concerning the participants in the roundtable.

A few days ago we proposed another working meeting between Gen Kiszczak and Lech Walesa and a small group of people in order to come to an agreement on the crucial issues. Lech Walesa refused. Thus, the negotiations did not take place; this was not our fault. We strongly urge you not to hold back from the necessary preparatory work so that the roundtable can finally meet. Once again, I stress that we want to begin the talks as soon as possible because the Polish public expects positive results.

At the same time, I must say that, unfortunately, events are multiplying in our country at present and are casting a shadow over the roundtable talks. This does not augur well for a chance to reach an accord at this table. I have already mentioned the march through Gdansk from St. Brygida Church to the centre; several hundred people threatened to hang communists. They threw stones at the militia and vandalized property. An attempt to organize a street march was also made in Zoliborz, in Warsaw.

Some colleges in Krakow have witnessed scandalous excesses by a group of students opposed to military training. Force was even used there against Polish Army officers who tried to prevent the troublemakers from entering the Military Studies Department. The appropriate authorities are investigating this matter.

In Wroclaw, there were attempts to copy the irrational acts in Krakow, acts which were aimed against the constitutional duty of preparing oneself to defend the country. Groups of Solidarity supporters have created various faits accomplis contrary to the law, including, for example, organizing a rally in the defense plant in Stalowa Wola.

All these events, as well as new similar initiatives of which we know, do not make plausible the assurances of the former Solidarity leaders that, if the union is legalized in some form, it will pursue only purely trade union activity and will act within the framework of the Law on Trade Unions and, in general, in accordance with the law, and that it will not take the path of political confrontation a second time.

The overwhelming majority of Polish society does not support political adventurism and wants talks and accord. Thus, it is concerned about the growing number of attempts to destroy peace in the country.

Urban Links Meeting, Student Protests

LD2210191988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Regarding numerous telephone questions concerning the date of the commencement of roundtable talks, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban made an announcement during today's meeting with a group of domestic and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

After making the announcement, Jerzy Urban replied to journalists' questions. Renate Marsch of DPA asked why the students protests are being linked with the roundtable. She asked whether an end to the student protests is a condition for the commencement of the talks.

[Begin Urban recording] I expect to address this matter on Tuesday. I believe, however, that these events are clouding the atmosphere prior to the roundtable and lead us to believe that assurances regarding the nonconfrontational intentions of our partners are not confirmed by actions; we see actions such as the boycott of military training departments. A small section of students picket and organize boycotts of these classes, use Solidarity, and issue independent student union slogans. There are also some personal and ideological ties. Therefore, I do connect this matter with the issue of the roundtable. Our military training department is, as it were, a more confortable and more mild form of army training for students. We are open to modifications of the program but totally closed to picketing or undermining the very principle of a defense obligation. [end recording]

Urban, Walesa on Talks Prospects

LD2210163388 Hamburg DPA in German
1547 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Prospects for a roundtable meeting between representatives of the political leadership and Solidarity in Poland diminished considerably on Saturday. Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban once again called on the chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity to meet with a small group of advisers in a preparatory conference with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. The conference should be held as soon as possible, to stake out various technical issues and to eliminate differences of opinion concerning the staffing of the delegations.

In a telephone interview from Gdansk Lech Walesa said Solidarity is ready at all times for roundtable talks. However, he will not permit his delegation, nor the topics about which agreement has already been reached, to be placed in question. He holds nothing against a meeting with Kiszczak, but says this is totally useless now since he [Walesa] is not prepared to discuss issues about personalities. Furthermore, he is trying for a "pluralism without qualifying adjectives—that is, neither socialist nor confrontational pluralism." Pluralism and Solidarity must exist. He believes Minister Urban and others "wanted to boycott the table."

"We are not letting ourselves be duped or enticed by tables," he said in a telephone interview with DPA. "We do not want any privileges; rather, we are concerned with the cause, and we shall fight for it." The state has opposed participation by advisers Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron, who are members of the Solidarity delegation for the so-called roundtable.

Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, chairman of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club in Warsaw who is acting as a mediator, displayed astonishment at Urban's statement. He said that agreement already had been reached on most of the points Urban presented as topics for the new meeting with Kiszczak, which was turned down by Walesa. These concerned both the venue and the number of working groups. Solidarity had taken heed of the government proposal that there should be only three working groups instead of the seven originally planned.

In effect, the only point still open was the composition of the delegation. Solidarity will not permit the government to determine who should be the Solidarity delegates to the roundtable. In addition, Solidarity demanded an end to repressive measures against participants in the strikes. More than 100 dismissed miners in Upper Silesia and two workers at the Stalowa Wola steel works still have not been reinstated. More than 20 young men have been taken into the Army.

Stelmachowski said in an interview with DPA that he had to state with regret that the government had changed its attitude several times. The attempts had to continue, but this could not last forever. Shortly before Urban issued his statement, Stelmachowski spoke with Politburo member Jozef Czyrek. In his statement, Urban affirmed that various recent events had shown that the Solidarity leaders' statements, that in the event of legalization they would concern themselves only with trade union issues and would not seek "political confrontation," were not to be believed. He referred to the brawls among young people in Danzig on Sunday and to the boycott of military exercises at universities.

Walesa on Upcoming Meeting

AU2410151588 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with "Poland's workers' leader" Lech Walesa by Klaus Bachmann: "We Do Not Want To Topple the Government"— date and place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: According to recent statements to journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, the state power seems to have reservations about some of the participants in the roundtable talks which were proposed by Solidarity. In particular, the names Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik were mentioned. Would you be prepared to discuss the composition of your delegation with the government?

Walesa: A short answer: I will not permit anything to influence my decisions.

DIE PRESSE: Solidarity Spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz declared that the opposition would have been ready to begin the negotiations as long ago as Monday of last week. However, Jacek Kuron stated that at that point it was not yet clear who would be a member of the Solidarity delegation.

Walesa: Jacek could say that. The preparations and the composition of the delegation depend exclusively on me. I have been authorized to make this decision by the workers and all those who, with tens of thousands of declarations of support, have expressed their confidence in me. Last Monday, I would have been able to start the talks with a complete delegation.

One of the groups which is to take part in the roundtable talks also includes Jacek Kuron. For I want all those who have something to say in Poland, those who have experience and recognize the need for reform at an early stage, to be on our side and to help us to do what is necessary for Poland—and to try to find a compromise. Because society has authorized me to act on its behalf, I chose my partners with whom I will be able to achieve this objective.

However, I am telling all those who cannot directly participate in the roundtable talks—the young people, the minorities, for example, the Ukrainians: If Lech Walesa and the group of people who will ultimately sit down at the negotiating table achieve their objective of bringing about pluralism in Poland, it will be a pluralism for all: for the minorities, for the autonomous trade unions and those of the individual sectors. There will be room for all. If we fail to achieve that, others will have to try. Maybe they will do better. Nevertheless, I am sure that we will achieve this with the group I will propose.

DIE PRESSE: However, this implies that Solidarity, if it wants to achieve that for all, will not be able to restrict itself to the pure role of a trade union.

Walesa: Solidarity has always and will always—at least in part—stand for one thing: reforms. At its beginning, Solidarity meant many things: demonstrations, banners, emotions, strikes. Had there been less of that, the Army and police would easily have been able to disperse us. It had to be like this at the beginning, because otherwise we would not have been able to keep going.

One can ask oneself whether Solidarity had the chance to proceed from this first stage to a second one in which we would have had to draw up and implement a program. It turned out that Solidarity did not get this second chance because the process was stopped by force. However, the basic problems could not be solved with this action. Today the reform which Solidarity represents is different from that of 1980. Today we are happy to be nothing other than a trade union.

Yet, it is completely impossible to be nothing but a good trade union in Poland without solving the essential economic, legal, and political problems. We will have to take care of this first, before trying to become a good trade union. However, we must achieve this without overthrowing the government, without toppling it, without replacing it. I said that back in 1980, and I repeat it today: We must not take over power. If necessary, I will personally help to maintain this government in power. One can change structures and also create structures for reform. We cannot do that ourselves; somebody will have to implement the reforms. Let me therefore repeat: We do not want to take over power. We only want to reform it and make it more effective.

DIE PRESSE: However, the state power claims that there are some people among the possible participants in the roundtable talks who wanted to bring down the government.

Walesa: The fact that today particularly the young people no longer believe in this government is the state power's own fault. This government and 45 years of its rule have resulted in people telling me the following: "Lech, they are only trying to cheat you; you do not have a chance against them." However, this is neither my fault nor is it Solidarity's. The state power's actions have made the young people throw stones at it, and it is only thanks to the church, and to the teachers and many other committed people, that we still somehow control this irritation.

DIE PRESSE: In 1980, there was something like complete openness within the trade union. In front of the entire workforce of the shipyard, Solidarity negotiated with the government. Today, however, Solidarity's policy of information has given rise to certain criticism and doubt. Up to this day, you have not outlined to anyone what you actually discussed in your first meeting with Interior Minister General Kiszczak, or why you related your possible call for a strike in the shipyard to the government's announcement of talks with Solidarity in the newscast at 2000.

Walesa: There are things which I can and want to explain, and there are others which I do not want to explain. The issue you have just mentioned belongs to the second category. These things are unclear, but I cannot explain them at the moment. This has nothing to do with tactics. Certainly, this was different in 1980, but at that time, this society was not as pluralistic as it is today. At that time, nobody tried to raise his voice against Walesa. At that time, I supported pluralism, and today I see the results. I am glad about this because it proves that my conception has prevailed.

DIE PRESSE: Are there voices within Solidarity which call for abandoning the roundtable talks?

Walesa: There are such voices. This is also a sign for democracy. However, the majority of society supports the roundtable talks.

DIE PRESSE: Has there been any guarantee that the roundtable talks will result in the legalization of Solidarity?

Walesa: Solidarity is simply a must. What kind of Solidarity it will be will have to be discussed. However, the fact that it will have to be there is as certain as anything. It exists and it must exist. At the moment, there is much talk as to whether Poland is ready for pluralism. Terms such as "socialist pluralism," or "confrontational pluralism" have also cropped up in this context. Pluralism either exists or it does not. If it does, then, please, without any adjectives. However, a different problem is how this system can be transformed into a pluralist one, without conjuring up unrest, anarchy, and confrontation. This is exactly what will be discussed at the roundtable.

DIE PRESSE: What will be the eventual result for Poland?

Walesa: A better, more interesting, and fairer country.

DIE PRESSE: They say that Solidarity is planning protest actions if negotiations do not start by 30 October.

Walesa: I do not know anything about that.

DIE PRESSE: Immediately after the strike had ended, you declared that you would be at the head of a new strike wave if the talks do not attain any results. How far are you willing to go?

Walesa: I do not make decisions alone. I will ask the society and my colleagues, who have given me this mandate, how things will continue and what they want. If they say that they are ready to fight, then I will certainly join them.

Opposition Playing 'Political Game'

LD2110195288 Warsaw PAP in English
1835 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—During his press conference on October 20th Lech Walesa accused the Polish authorities that they wanted to withdraw from the "round table" talks. In his opinion this claim was supported by the "progaganda campaign" allegedly being conducted in the official press against the "Solidarnosc" leadership. At the same time Walesa said that he was prepared to reach once again for the strike weapon and announced that he would not drop Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik from the "Solidarnosc" delegation.

Such a statement will assuredly not contribute to improve the climate before the "round table." It is also difficult to understand completely the arguments used, especially the accusation levelled at the authorities that they are trying to deceive society and withdraw from the talks.

It must be recalled that it was no one else but the authorities which on August 28th, in the person of the minister of internal affairs, put forward the proposal of the "round table" meeting. General Kiszczak said at the time that he was not making any preconditions as far as the subject scope or the the participants were concerned. However, he excluded the possibility of participation by people rejecting the legal and consititutional order of the Polish People's Republic.

Let us further recall that during its 8th plenum the PUWP CC shared the opinion presented by Czeslaw Kiszczak on the issue of the immediate sitting down to talks with representatives of various social and worker circles.

Let us finally recall the statements of PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek who, in a statement for PAP (on October 10th) spoke about the expectations connected with the "round table," among other things, the hope for the rapprochement of opinions and the achievement of agreement on the programme of basic political and socio-economic reforms. Czyrek stressed that the solutions must be sought within the framework of constitutional principles and the Polish reason of state.

There is no place for anti-systemic opposition at the round table.

It is difficult to find in these statements the alleged "propaganda campaign" which is intended, in Lech Walesa's opinion, to deceive society.

On the other hand one may receive the impression that for opposition circles the "round table" is becoming only an element in their political game in which leading Poland out of the crisis is a secondary issue.

Solidarity Leaders Cited on Talks

LD2110145088 Warsaww PAP in English
1350 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Clear Intentions"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Aside from many constructive stances represented by the potential participants in the "Round Table" meeting during preparations for it, other options contradicting from the very start the well known principles which are to guide this event are also being openly presented.

On the one hand, Lech Walesa in one of his interviews expresses a hope that "At long last we will start to liquidate the divisions which unnecessarily divide us in such a way as to improve the economic, political and social situation in the final count." Speaking about pluralism this firm advocate of restoring "Solidarnosc" nonetheless makes a reservation that "pluralism can turn into destruction and anarchy. That is why one must erect barriers, valves, limitations." Prof. Andrzej Stelmachowski expresses similar views: "...[ellipses as received] Evolution does not cause tremors and at the same time could include quite radical steps. The complex character of the reform is equally important." Further on: "One must strive at a model which would release maximum of social and economic initiative and guarantee the broadest possible sphere of freedom. In other words the point is to democraticize the existing political system without destroying its foundations."

Even Karol Modzelewski is of the opinion that "as concerns the side of society, realism requires it to acknowledge that the helm of state power must remain in the hands of the communists, while the authorities must become aware of the fact that one cannot dissolve or replace the social partner with a fake." He goes on to state firmly: "Reality cannot be cheated. One can only cheat oneself to the detriment of all."

On the other hand we hear: "What we want today...is a Poland without communism." These are the words of Adam Michnik who threatens that if "Solidarnosc" is not legalized in its former shape, "We will see burning party headquarters." Jacek Kuron does not go that far although he regrets that "...We must still reach an agreement with the Communists." He set forth a precondition to such an agreement, namely the recognition of "Solidarnosc", threatening with provoking strikes if this did not happen. Zbigniew Frasyniuk's goal for instance is for "The communists to one day sit in the opposition bench."

Are such stances reconcilable with the offer of Gen. Kiszczak based on constitutional order? What ties unite these three professional politicians with others, taking even more extreme positions? It is difficult to exactly determine this because so far they can be heard only through Radio Free Europe. One thing is for sure: The contents voiced by these groups are not unknown to them because for example the "Wola" political groups themselves proclaim that they "Challenge the Communists" as regards among others the issue of "The Yalta system enforced on Poland" and propose "an independent anti-Yalta program." Furthermore, the so-called Liberal-Democratic Party "Independence" endorses a complete overthrow of Communism.

Finally one question: Do people proceeding from such premises really care for the success of the "Round Table." Or putting it another way: What do they really want?

Solidarity Negotiator 'Gloomy'

PM2110092488 Paris LE MONDE in French
19 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with Polish Solidarity Negotiator Andrzej Stelmachowski by Sylvie Kauffmann in Warsaw on 17 October]

[Text] Warsaw—Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski, Solidarity's chief negotiator who has the job of establishing contact with the government with a view to organizing the roundtable, is a serious man, respected by intellectuals on all sides for his wisdom and moderation. Today Mr Stelmachowski admits that he is worried: "I hope that the roundtable (originally scheduled for mid-October—LE MONDE editor's note) will start next week," he said, "but nothing is certain. The climate seems much less favorable than before."

The situation is even sufficiently gloomy for him not to rule out the possibility of these negotiations between the government and the opposition, decided after the August strikes, not taking place at all, "and that would be really deplorable."

In an interview granted to LE MONDE on Monday 17 October, Mr Stelmachowski, who is professor of law at Warsaw University, and chairman of the Catholics Intelligentsia Club, attributed the delays imposed by the authorities on the start of the roundtable to the leadership's divisions on what attitude to adopt toward Solidarity. "We are in a situation in which it is the generals who are making the decisions (Footnote) (In addition to General Jaruzelski, first secretary and head of state, the Politburo contains two generals: General Kiszczak and Defense Minister General Siwicki) primarily Gen

Jaruzelski," he explained. "But they have a dubious attitude. They are saying nothing, they are remaining silent. The polarization within the party is perfectly clear. There are two factions between which Gen Jaruzelski must decide and he is vacillating. Those who know him well say that this is typical of him, that he only makes decisions after a great deal of hesitation and after listening to various opinions."

On what is the "general" having so much difficulty deciding? Quite simply on the unavoidable question of trade union pluralism. "The roundtable requires a prior decision," Mr Stelmachowski remarked. "Are they or are they not prepared to recognize trade union and social pluralism?" The new obstacles constantly arising in the preliminary talks, the composition of the Solidarity delegation, the organization of working groups, are all just a "pretext." In fact, "the govenment side is not ready, the basic decision has not been made."

Prof Stelmachowski is particularly worried by the constant attacks on Solidarity and on the very idea of a roundtable in the party press and on television. "It is very clear that the hardliners are currently on the offensive," he said. There are also "broken promises, notably certain agreements on security for the strikers" who were to be reinstated in their jobs. "These agreements were reached with Mr Walesa and with the church," he stressed, "and despite that they are not being implemented in Silesia, for instance, where more than 100 strikers have not yet been allowed to return to the mine."

This time the episcopate, despite the overtures made by Prime Minister Rakowski ("It is ridiculous," the professor said, "everybody knows that he is anticlerical"), does not want to be taken in and has just written a "strong" protest letter to Interior Minister Gen Kiszczak. Mr Stelmachowski thinks that "this gesture from the church is important because its aim is to reaffirm that the idea of the roundtable is still valid and to express its anxiety."

The authorities' reaction to the violent clashes in Gdansk on Sunday between hundreds of very young people and the forces of order is possibly equally worrying. Described by the government as "a provocation aimed at scuttling the national accord," this demonstration—pictures of which were shown on television, which is unusual—surprised more than one Solidarity official and Mr Stelmachowski does not rule out "manipulation."

He was in Gdansk on Saturday to inform Lech Walesa about his latest contacts and "to receive instructions with a view to future meetings," because he is due to have another meeting this Tuesday with Jozef Czyrek, his main party interlocutor. "We are virtually colleagues now," the academic joked. "The other day one of his bodyguards asked me to pass on his good wishes to Mr Walesa. We were in prison together," he told me. "In prison?—Yes, I was his guard during his internment. He was very nice. I liked him very much."

Daily Attacks Solidarity Activist as 'Extremist'

LD2210210888 Warsaw PAP in English
1908 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 22—Today's TRYBUNA LUDU attacked Kornel Morawiecki, the leader of the illegal organization "Solidarnosc Walczaca" (SW—Fighting Solidarnosc) as an extremist and fierce anti-communist and wrote:

"In its general outline Morawiecki's programme is similar to the programmes of other such groups. First and foremost it is zoologically [word as received] anti-communist.

"Perhaps it is not difficult to maintain this attitude, if one takes into consideration that even according to the statements made by people from 'fighting Solidarnosc' the membership of the organization does not exceed 3,000 people. This would not be a representation of some actual faction of society. There are, however, a few features distinguishing the 'SW.' First and foremost Mr Morawiecki and his adherents stress continually that they do not intend to limit themselves to 'destroying communism' in Poland. They give assurances that they want to spread their activities to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Soviet Union...

"In essence this activity is of no greater importance. However, from the point of view of Poland's interests, the observance of our alliances etc., it is difficult to call this otherwise than an international provocation.

"The Polish authorities accused Morawiecki's organization of having terrorist tendencies more than once.

"There must be something in this since an organization like 'Amnesty International,' which is so sensitive to the fate of various anti-communists and rather distrustful of the government declarations in the socialist states, persistently refuses to take Morawiecki under its wing precisely because of this accusation about terrorism.

"Another characteristic of 'SW' are attempts at subversive activities in the Army.

"Finally, Morawiecki stresses all the time that he 'is more radical than the rest of the opposition.'

"Recently—probably in connection with the 'round table,' Morawiecki has become more 'stiff.' Demanding the legalization of 'Solidarnosc' as a precondition to the talks, he adds that at present this is 'not enough.' He calls for 'the separation of the economic sphere, public life from the political sphere through the elimination of party factory cells.'

"This basic aversion to compromise and 'hardness' in contacts with his own authorities leaves Morawiecki in contacts with the authorities of foreign countries—the capitalist ones of course. While in London and the

United States he assured his interlocutors about the alleged effectiveness of external pressure on the Polish Government and asked for such pressure.

"These appearences abroad were also not free from a look around for financial contributions for the 'SW.'

"The fact remains that Morawiecki, who after leaving Poland claimed that he left without a penny and almost without any luggage, made no mean trips between May and August..."

Reportage on Worker Activists' Meeting

Proceedings Detailed

LD2110200488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1505 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Let us return to the national conference of worker activists which is in progress at the Ursus tractor industry plant in Warsaw:

[Unidentified reporter] [passage omitted] The conference was opened by Wojciech Jaruzelski, who said that its main aim is to get to know workers' opinions on the country's most important problems. Hence, the presence of representatives of the party, the government, and the trade unions. General Jaruzelski said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We are living in a highly complex but, at the same time, historically important time. This is because we are facing a great opportunity for Poland: The possibility of achieving a breakthrough in the processes of national agreement, in reforming the economy and the state. It is natural that at such a time the party leadership should turn to the main force of the nation, to the working class, for advice and support.

We are expecting the conference to become a forum for a wide, honest, and bold exchange of opinions and experiences. It will allow all of us to look more closely and to make ourselves more fully aware of the problems surrounding the working class, all working people. Therefore, we consider today's deliberations to be an exceptionally important form of consultation and a significant stage in preparations for the national conference of PZPR delegates. [end recording]

[Reporter] Professor Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, outlined the strategy of party activity in meeting the needs of the times. He said:

[Begin Baka recording] What are the most painful sore spots in our socioeconomic life? What hurts people the most? What are the most sensitive points? To which issues should we turn our attention to and solve first? We assumed that the battle front would not be expanded excessively and that, not too many of these aims would be set. This is because, in this (?style of concentration), it is imperative to be able to function more effectively. Better less but better; that is why we reduced the list of aims quite considerably, although some say that bearing in mind our situation and possibilities it is still too extensive. And that is also a problem which should be considered. Our discussion should also deal with this.

What do we consider to be the important aims to be achieved in the coming 2 years? Those aims have been defined as follows: to improve the means [word indistinct] of supplying the market as well as normalizing market conditions; to accelerate construction, to begin the process of breaking down, of overcoming the blockage in housing which is occuring in Poland; to reduce the rate of inflation scale, aiming gradually to eliminate it; to improve the service given to people in administration, in the health service, at the post office, in public transportation, in all the service enterprises and units of public services. These can be achieved in 2 years. But they can only be achieved on the condition that there is a very great mobilization of public energy and determined action. That is not much, but at the same time it is a great deal.

The perspective of the consolidation plan cannot be reduced to 2 years. Actions taken must have regard for wtat we want to attain over a longer period.

We accept that by 1995 there should be a fully balanced economy, so that our internal market will be a market in the full meaning of the word, so that it will simply be a good market. Can this be achieved in 7 years? I believe it is possible [end recording]

[Announcer] During the conference our reporter Tadeusz Zakrzewski interviewed Professor Baka:

[Begin recording] [Zakrzewski] What is the prime condition for these strategic aims to be implemented quickly?

[Baka] I distinguish three conditions. First, we must quickly resolve the problem of fuelling the economy with productive factors in order to overcome what I call the fetter of indebtedness. Because we all know that if there is no fuelling up then even the best engine will not (?start). And then our words about independence, about the functioning of enterprises on the principles of economic accounting and so on, they could turn out to be empty words as there would be no market, no possibility of buying, no possibility of transforming human labor into products. So, the first matter is this fuelling up. The second factor is to make our system of management healthy, so that it will become transparent and clear, so that it will be obvious what each unit takes from its surroundings and how much it gives to these surroundings.

[Zakrzewski] And who lives on credit?

[Baka] Yes. We need to know who is really efficient, who benefits society and who is a parasite, willing or not. Our economic system at the moment is very complicated, opaque, muddy water, so to speak, precisely because of economic parasitism. We must demand from the center that clear principles and regulations reveal those who live at the cost of others and also those who are in very good financial and economic condition and who should develop themselves.

The prime condition, as you [word indistinct] put it—perhaps this will seem banal—is man. That is, the various aspects of man, people. Well, first, it is human consciousness: the barriers to consciousness are very strong, people get used to these various plans, to a set order, to set arrangements, and then when there is a breakthrough, a chance to break through all of this, then openly or not, resistance appears.

The second [as heard] factor is interests. Interests are, one might say, indestructible. Interests, in essence, decide social movements. He who says there are no conflicts of interest in Poland is in error. On the contrary, there are very great conflicts; there are many particular interests. People take advantage of the present conditions and these people, under the cloak of the overall interest of society, under the cloak of shielding socialism and defense of socialism, will stubbornly oppose the new economic order in order to protect their own particular interests.

What can be done about this? This is what Gorbachev calls glasnost, that means the openness of life, transparency, because particular interests feel most comfortable in the shade. Putting them out into the sun, into the light, immediately weakens them. And if we want to overcome them—and they are really very strong—then we can only do this when all matters are resolved within the view of all of society.

And finally, another matter associated with man, that is, motivation and ability, ability in action. Man has instinct, man has talent, but on a mass scale it is also neceessary to have abilities that are acquired in specific circumstances, through education. We must overcome this barrier of ability. Many activities that could have been undertaken are not being undertaken, not because people do not want to but because they are not yet able to. That is why I feel that we must go very sharply in the direction of the promotion of new knowledge. The Japanese, when they were beginning their modernization, sent hundreds of thousands of people abroad, educated themselves, came, made use of. [incomplete sentence as heard] This is the way we must go, too, but above all we must better exploit the potential of knowledge and experience being brought here already.

And on top of this, we must organize various types of consultancy firms, various types of promotion arrangements, which will help people there where they want it, to introduce new forms, new principles of activity, to overcome this (?competence) barrier. This is a very, very important matter. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tadeusz Zakrzewski also interviewed Alfred Miodowicz [chairman of the OPZZ]

[Begin recording] [Zakrzewski] Professor Baka outlined a strategy for the future, which, if I understand it correctly, nevertheless assumes a tightening of the belt, at least for a section of society. How, do you, sir, as a trade unionist, view this strategy?

[Miodowicz] Insofar as I am able to view it positively, then I must say at once that I do not sense in the program that which you, Mr Editor, were speaking about. One cannot, a priori, assume that, for the umpteenth time, we will tighten our belts and, through lowering the standard of living, arrive at some nebulous success calculated in the longer term. That is also why the plan is interesting, but until there is instrumentation, that is, a method of initiating this plan, until then neither I personally nor the trade union, or less so, the OPZZ will be able to take a position on it. For example, sir, what of financial policy? How many taxes will there be—10, 5, 3? In our opinion there should be three basic taxes. What of prices and incomes policy? Will we again be suddenly raising prices and then chasing them with wages, or will we distribute this somehow over time. Or maybe we will simply end such a prices and incomes policy which caused so many difficulties for us and, in fact, thwarted this program of reforming the economy which was presented by Professor Sadowski and, note, which was accepted by the Sejm. Therefore, there are many questions here. We are waiting until the government, basing itself on these assumptions, formulates a plan. The plan will have instruments, will have executive provisions, and then we will take a stand on this. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Conclusion of Meeting Reported

LD2210032088 Warsaw PAP in English
0111 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—The national conference of worker activists was held today at the Ursus tractor factory where, attended by almost 500 people from all voivodships.

The aim of the conference was defined by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the start of the meeting: "We are facing a great chance to make a breakthrough in the process of national agreement, to achieve progress we need so badly in solving problems in our economy. That is why at this moment the party asks the working class for opinions. At the same time, today's meeting is a vital stage in the preparations for the national conference of PUWP delegates.

Before the start of discussion, participants in the meeting heard extensive reports on the current social, political and economic situation in Poland.

Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka reviewed the key assumptions of the Plan of Consolidation of the National Economy, recalling the plans immediate goals: improvement of market supplies, limitation of the scale of inflation, improvement of services for the population. Among long-term goals he listed the balancing of the economy and the creation of an authentic, good market, the reduction of the inflation of one-digit level, visible improvement of the state of natural environment and the strengthening of Poland's position in the international division of labour.

Baka also spoke about the ways of implementation of that plan, stressing the need for deep structural changes, creation of genuine priorities for agriculture and the food economy, the construction industry, housing, natural environment protection, fuel and energy economy and for the scientific and technological progress.

The speaker also stressed that the plan of consolidation should become a subject of a social agreement and of the round table discussion.

Next, the floor was taken by Vice-Premier Janusz Patorski, who outlined key directions of the governments activities, calling for co-participation in a difficult but feasible venture, demanding boldness and imagination, but also pragmatism in thinking and activities.

Part of his address was devoted to economic results in the three quarters of this year. Patorski stressed that certain positive tendencies could be perceived but unfortunately they failed to result in any palpable improvement on the market.

Concluding his speech, Patorski informed worker activists on the government economic committees planned steps to streamline and stabilize the country's social and economic situation.

During a many-hour long discussion, about 30 participants in the conference took the floor and over 50 presented their addresses to the minutes. The speakers touched upon most vital problems nagging working people.

At the end of the conference the floor was taken by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During a break in the conference, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the hitherto discussion at the conference, its essential quality and the tone of workers addresses permit to strengthen hope that problems facing Poland could be overcome, especially as they are discussed by young people, representatives of a highly qualified, thinking, modern and deeply patriotic generation. "This generation, I am deeply convinced about this, will enter into the 21st century with the feeling of a well fulfilled duty," said Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Comparison of Rakowski 13 Oct Sejm Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 14 October on pages 3 and 4 carries the 7,800-word text of speech by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the 13 October Sejm session in Warsaw. The TRYBUNA LUDU report entitled "Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's Statement" has been compared with the Warsaw Television Service version published in the 14 October East Europe Daily Report, page 40, revealing the following variations:

Page 42, column two, first full paragraph, first sentence reads in TRYBUNA LUDU : ...area, to the consequences of this activity? (confirming queried word)

Page 44, column two, third paragraph, third sentence reads: ...with the church is becoming a fact. I regard my... (clearing queried passage)

Page 47, column two, third paragraph, sentences four and five read: ...Technical University. Between 1957 and 1973 he worked in industry,... (rephrasing)

Same paragraph, sentence nine reads: ...co-owner of the Lavil enterprise, with the... (correcting factory name)

Same paragraph sentences eleven and twelve read:... headquarters of the Lavil enterprise. His economic... (correcting factory name)

Four Villages 'Flattened' Under Rural Plan

AU2110164288 Paris AFP in English
1629 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, Oct 21 (AFP)—Four villages on the outkirts of the Romanian capital have been flattened and four others partially destroyed as part of a plan of "Rural Rationalisation and Modernization," officials implementing the controversial policy said in interviews Friday.

Buda, Vladiceasca, Dingeni and Ordoreanu, all in the Ilfov area northwest of here, were "totally out of use" when they were razed by bulldozers, the officials told AFP.

It was the first time the authorities had disclosed the names of villages destroyed under the plan, which calls for the destruction of 7,000 of Romania's 13,000 villages.

The residents of these villages are to be moved to "agro-industrial centers" under the policy, but according to the most recent government statements, 7,500 villages will be saved and the others will be left to "slow extinction."

There are 103 villages in the Ilfov area, of which 80 per cent of the population works in Bucharest.

In addition to the four villages that were razed, four others were partially destroyed, in part to make way for an expansion of the capital's international airport, the officials said.

They said the homes of 2,300 of the 7,500 residents "had to be taken out of use".

In total, 17 villages of the 103 were affected by the "rationalization" policy, the officials said, with 13,000 of Ilvov's 300,000 residents due to receive new homes.

They said 3,700 apartments have already been built and another 6,000 would be completed soon.

Stefan Datcu, investment coordinator for the Institute for Research and Study of Modernization and Rationalisation, stressed that the destruction of villages in Ilfov was to make way for such projects as the airport expansion, a Bucharest-Danube canal, and the creation of artificial lakes.

"These are specific reasons, different from what's going on in the rest of Romania," he told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. He also said that the Ilfov residents would be compensated and their new homes would be superior to their old ones.

Ceausescu Concludes Visit to DPRK

AU2110202888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1847 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Pyongyang AGERPRES, 21/10/1988—The official visit of friendship paid by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu to the DPR of Korea, as guests of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the DPR of Korea, came to an end on Friday, October 21, in the same atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual esteem and valuation that prevailed all along the visit, under the token of the fine relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were accompanied from the residence to the airport by President Kim Il-song and Mrs Kim Song-ae.

All along the route traversed by the official file of cars, adorned with the state flags of the two countries, the residents of the capital of the DPR of Korea greeted with joy the Romanian people's messengers.

Upon arrival at the airport, the distinguished guests were welcomed by thousands upon thousands of Pyongyang residents with loud applause and ovations, with warm manifestations of esteem and valuation that emphasized the friendly feelings between the Romanian and Korean peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu took a warm leave of President Kim Il-song and Mrs Kim Song-ae. The two party and state leaders warmly shook hands, friendly embraced each other, expressing once more their satisfaction at the talks conducted, at the understandings reached on the occasion, that account for an important contribution to the promotion of the Romanian-Korean collaboration on multiple planes, to both countries' and peoples' benefit, in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

From the plane ramp, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu warmly answered the farewell addressed by President Kim Il-song and Mrs Kim Song-ae, by the other members of the Korean party and state leadership present at the departure ceremony.

The presidential aircraft took off at 11:00 hrs local time, making for the homeland.

Receives 'Enthusiastic' Welcome

AU2110143688 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, returned home from official friendship visits paid to the PRC, at the invitation of Comrade Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Comrade Yang Shangkun, PRC president, and to DPRK, at the invitation of Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and DPRK president.

On their arrival at Otopeni Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were welcomed by full and candidate members of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, RCP Central Committee secretaries, members of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Government, and by leaders of central institutions and mass and public organizations. Romanian, Chinese, and Korean young people and pioneers presented beautiful flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. Thousands of working people from Bucharest enterprises and institutions rallied at the airport to welcome Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu with sentiments of warm regard and esteem. Those present cheered enthusiastically for the party and its secretary general, expressing satisfaction at the results of the official friendship visits to the PEC and DPRK, which open up ever broader prospects for comprehensive cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples to their mutual benefit, and in the interest of the overall cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu warmly replied to the enthusiastic reaction of the thousands of Bucharest inhabitants present at the airport.

Ceausescu Meets Zimbabwe Industry Minister

AU2110194388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1847 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/10/1988—On 21 October, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Callistus Ndlovu, minister of industry and technology of the Republic of Zimbabwe, chairman for his country in the Romania-Zimbabwe Joint Governmental Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation, which proceeded in Bucharest.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over a message and conveyed a cordial salute on behalf of President Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe, and wishes of good health, progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

The Romanian head of state thanked and, in turn, addressed a warm salute to the president of the Republic of Zimbabwe and best wishes to the friendly people of Zimbabwe.

During the interview the sides pointed out that the good Romanian-Zimbabwean relations of friendship and solidarity established at the time of the fight fought by that country's people for national independence grow continuously under the new circumstances, in the spirit of the summit understandings. The sides also considered that the programmes on development and the economic potential of the two countries create ample possibilities to further develop these relations in various domains of joint interest. They pointed out the results of the joint governmental commission and, in the context, the importance of implementing the understandings reached for developing the economic and technological cooperation between the two countries, of expanding and diversifying the exchanges of goods, for the benefit of the two friendly peoples, of the cause of international peace and collaboration.

Participating were Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, and Radu Paunescu, minister of the machine building industry, chairman for Romania in the joint governmental commission.

LCY Plenum Views Constitutional Amendments

YPA Financing Discussed

LD2110175688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1954 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—Immediately after the 3-day 17th session the LCY Central Commission met this evening at its 18th session to examine the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the tasks of the LCY in this connection.

Before the introductory speech of Vidoje Zarkovic, a nine-member working group was set up to monitor the discussion and at the end to propose to the Central Committee the final text of the conclusions.

At this session the Central Committee will also endorse the duties of the LCY Central Committee members with regard to monitoring the proceedings and giving assistance to LC organizations in municipalities, in the period from October 1988 to July 1989.

Dusan Popovski, the first to take part in the discussion, wondered, among other things, about the extent to which the draft constitutional changes endorsed so far have met the demands of the public. Answering this question, he said that the demands were numerous, that they did not even spare the constitutional principles themselves, and that because of this it was justified to now take the course of those changes that would ensure the unhindered realization of the economic reform and that would make the political system more effective, while at the same time embarking upon extensive research on guidelines for the future reconstruction of our entire Constitution.

Speaking about the guidelines of the constitutional amendments, Popovski specified that the most was achieved in the sphere of the socioeconomic system. More modest achievements relate to amendments to the sociopolitical system. We must be open to all kinds of criticism and more demands in this sphere; public debates should be recorded and borne in mind in the second phase of the constitutional changes. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Popovski said with much optimism that the Constitutional Commission would this evening or tomorrow morning reach agreement on the controversial amendment to the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. We are examining a possibility of finding a solution for the permanent and stable financing through a special turnover tax and some other sources, he explained.

Ante Markovic also stressed that the most important issue was the controversial question of the financing of the YPA without supporting the optimism of Popovski and noting that the present "votes situation"—12 to 9 or 10 in the Constitutional Commissions—indicates the different views of republics and provinces on this matter. [passage omitted]

It is good that agreement was reached on the majority of changes to the Federal Constitution, noted Mato Andric adding that people in Bosnia-Hercegovina think that possible failure in adopting them by the fixed deadline would only deepen the crisis. We have never thought that the constitutional changes would automatically solve all problems, but they are in deed essential prerequisites for it.

Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Andric's words, attaches special importance to the financing of the YPA. There is no need for me to prove what a stagnation in the modernization of the YPA would mean in such a social situation, he said, noting that the majority of working people strived for a strong and stable YPA. The same can be said of the uniform bases of the tax and economic system. [passage omitted]

Trajko Prendzo considers that solutions proposed in the amendments represent a basis for launching more daring processes to overcome the crisis. The Macedonian LC accepted the assessment whereby the ideopolitical essence of the amendments was in line with the strategic orientations of the LCY and society as a whole. The most important changes are in the sphere of socioeconomic relations, but also those in the political system and the sphere of relations in the federation which, though not so radical, are not to be neglected. [passage omitted]

In the assessment of Bogdan Trifunovic, some questions in connection with the new Constitution could not be postponed. It is impossible to expect everyone to give up the proposed solutions just because of lack of agreement of one assembly. One should take into consideration the responsibility of all the assemblies so that joint solutions can be found, contrary to the thinking that the proposed solution is not the best one.

He recalled that the Constitutional Commission did not accept some proposals that were strongly supported in certain republics, as was the case in Serbia where there had been strong arguments for the demand for the introduction of a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. Within this context Trifunovic said that the LC needed to exercise its influence and explain why it was important for the country to solve the remaining questions.

Assessing the amendment on the YPA financing as the main controversial question, he thought that solutions could be found to the submitted proposals. It would be politically unacceptable and irresponsible to call into question the adoption of the amendments because of it.

Trifunovic also spoke about the need for the Central Committee to reaffirm the orientation for starting with the preparations for the new constitition. He noted that this was an opportunity to resolve many of the postponed and to open up the prospects of the resolving of Yugoslavia's political and economic difficulties.

Stane Brovet warned that the basic characteristics of the military-political situation are such that they continue to demand the maintenance of a high degree of combat readiness in the YPA, which presupposes the stability of its financing. The crisis which our society is in only increases this need.

Citing the arguments for acceptance of the proposed constitutional solutions, Brovet said that there have been serious problems for the past 10 years in the present method of securing funds for financing the YPA, which are endangering the continuity of its development. The sources of funds and the procedure for establishing them, on which long and exhausting discussions are carried out anew every year, do not guarantee the stability of plans for its development and the normal execution of its regular functions.

Delay in the adoption and rebalancing of the federal budget because of disagreement among the republics on its volume, which in practice amounts to the right of veto of the assembly of one republic or province, hampers the timely adoption of plans and the conclusion of agreements in Yugoslavia and abroad. The daily debt owed to suppliers in the first half of 1988 reached 400 million dinars, Stane Brovet noted.

The problem of financing the Army was still futher complicated, Stane Brovet said, by the earlier practice of unrealistically estimating the national income and undervaluing these funds because of a higher rate of inflation than estimated. The valuation of the funds has meant as a consequence uncertainty and instability in planning, and the creation among the public of the impression that the YPA is asking for additional, greater funding. Certain public information media also contribute to such negative politicization. There are also irresponsible commentaries about alleged enormous allocations for the YPA, without which a way out of the crisis would be simple and easy.

Brovet recalled that the YPA has so far never sought greater funds than the percentage of the national income on which agreement was reached by the republics and provinces in the social plan. What is more, in the past 10 years the Army has received considerably fewer funds than planned every year. In the past medium-term period, an average of 22 percent less than planned was secured for the financing of the YPA, and in some years as much as 27 percent.

He also said that the greater part of the funds for the financing of the YPA do not have the character of classical budget expenditure, and that they are returned again to the economy via military-economic activity, the development of research and production capacities, and through exports. About 90 percent of the weapons and military equipment that are produced in the country are the result of our own development, Stane Brovet said.

Adding some other data, he stressed that at the root of the instability of the financing of the YPA are economic and systemic reasons, and not the failure to fulfill commitments by the republics and provinces as is sometimes thought.

Communists and the entire Yugoslav public must know that contesting the constitutional amendment or insistance on the removal of that amendment means in essence the breakdown of the system of securing material funds for the Army and consequently of the Army itself. This raises the question of who can take responsibility before the peoples of Yugoslavia for the consequences that would arise.

Brovet very precisely rejected the theory that the YPA does not share the fate of society and the economy. He warned that for the YPA and the defense of the country as a whole, the most dangerous destablization is by way of inadequate financial provision.

He stressed in conclusion that Communists in the YPA consider that the Central Committee should not remain indifferent toward the possibility that the amendment may not be accepted, in which case they do not wish to share responsibility for the eventual reconciliation with the alternative.

According to Branko Mikulic great effort has been invested in the preparation of the proposed amendment and agreement has been reached on many solutions that facilitate reform of the economic system. Naturally some of the solutions are very good, and some could have been better, Mikulic noted.

Mikulic then turned in particular to the question of financing the YPA. The Federal Executive Council proposed, he said, that by means of amendments to the Constitution it is made possible for additional sources of funds for the financing of the YPA to be established by federal law, in order to guarantee secure sources and stability of funding for the planned level of expenditure in the part of the budget for the YPA.

Mikulic went on to say that the essence of the proposed changes lies in the fact that the total volume of funds for the financing of the YPA is fixed for the period of the medium-term plan by law, and not by the social plan. This total volume would be fixed in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, while the annual amount would be decided with the annual budget in the Federal Chamber.

It is proposed that the part of the income of the federation for the financing of the YPA may be established by federal law from income tax and special sales tax. In the final proposal income tax is no longer mentioned, but sales tax has remained.

Mikulic also noted certain calculations relating to sales tax and special taxes.

According to Mikulic, the procedure for the adoption of the budget is not changing. The contributions of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces are not being abolished, nor are we excluding their share in the part of the budget for financing the YPA. These contributions, or fees as they have begun to be called as if the federation were UNESCO or the United Nations, are at the very top of the political ladder, and are in practical terms the most certain source of income of the federation, because whenever we discuss this, possibilities are sought either for reducing the expenditure in the federal budget, or other sources of income are proposed.

In this connection Mikulic said that everything continues to be under the control of the republics and provinces and that the financing of the YPA is not being taken out of the budget and assembly procedure.

Mikulic said categorically that there should not be further savings where there is the greatest risk—in the financing of national defense. Statistics show that since 1985 we have not secured the planned resources of income, the Federal Executive Council has been forced to take loans from the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which has affected inflation. Even this, however, does not resolve the problems of financing the YPA.

We are all agreed that stable, reliable sources of funds should be secured for the YPA. Differences occur however when we have to nominate these sources. Mikulic informed the Central Committee that measures are being taken for relieving the economy, among other things in the form of import duties, which have as their result the reduction of earnings in the budget of the Federation by 1.1 trillion dinars. In practical terms this opens up problems of closing the tap both in the budget and in the nonbudget section of the federal balance.

In Mikulic's view deficit financing, which is now being considered, is least likely to be feasible for the YPA.

Branko Mikulic spoke in conclusion about the bases of the taxation system. There is no doubt that what is being proposed in the amendments is better than what we have now. However, in the Commission for the Reform of the Economic System we considered that the least progress in reforming the economic system has been made in the reform of taxation and contributions. In this connection, Mikulic expressed the fear that because of shortcomings in this area there will be a dilemma in the future over which measures to use to compensate. It would be good if we could avoid these difficulties, Mikulic stressed in conclusion.

Milan Kucan added his voice to those making efforts to coordinate the proposed constitutional amendments, and then explained in great detail the way in which Slovenia looked at and worked on this area. The Slovene Central Committee and the Assembly in particular, have debated this many times. There were also suggestions in Slovenia, he said, for collecting signatures for the organization of a referendum; there were opinions that constitutional changes are an attack on the sovereignty of the Slovene nation and that they restrict its freedom. The referendum was intended to reject the entire initiative for constitutional changes.

Thanks to the efforts of Communists, Kucan continued, such views were not accepted on the public political stage. Nor were the ideas accepted that we Slovene Communists are betraying the interests of the Slovene people. We have accepted the initiative for constitutional changes as the condition for embarking on essential socialist reforms, without which there is no prosperity for this society. Through this public discussion the Slovene LC has consolidated the trust in it, because it has shown that it is ready and capable of fighting for its orientations in public discussion, and of accepting the fact that it is sometimes in the minority. Kucan explained that the so-called 14 "No's," or rather the prevention of the adoption of controversial solutions, do not represent the majority of the Slovene stances, which is rather in the essence of the active support for all those changes essential for the beginning of reform, particularly economic reform. In this regard public opinion in Slovenia has turned round and has accepted the changes in this section as being good and necessary.

According to what Kucan went on to say, the task of securing the stable and long-term sources of financing for the YPA, on which there is still no agreement at the level of the country, was never disputed in Slovenia. Our Assembly, he says, took the view that the basic problem arose from the fact that there was no stable provision of financing of the federation via the budget in the country. Kucan considers that other solutions, outside the budget, are palliatives.

The meaning of our stance, he stressed, is that our finances generally should be sorted out and the stable financing of the federation, and of the YPA should be secured within this framework. It is our suggestion that the solution should not be sought outside the budget and should not be resolved in a way that would change the constitutionally established relations between the republics and the federation.

In the closing part of his speech, Kucan also commented on the assessments among the public that the Slovenes, apparently, are stubbornly insisting on their stances and that others had given way a great deal to the Slovenes. In this connection Kucan was categorical: The Constitution cannot be a kind of trade, on the principle of: You give to me and I'll give to you—it must be built on principled agreements. I would never for this level the accusation against anyone of being a destroyer of brotherhood and unity, a destroyer of the country, nor would I allege nationalism and separatism. Accusations of this kind would leave behind them very serious consequences, he said.

The Constitution can only be adopted with the agreement of every nation and nationality, Kucan stressed, and this is also the only way it can be changed. He advocated that the small number of remaining issues that have not been coordinated should be left for the second phase of constitutional changes. Consensus in the federation is above everything else and is a factor of its stability. Concluding the part of his speech about the controversial modalities for the financing of the YPA, which was a key part of his discussion, Kucan said that the initiative for resolving this issue as well was not being contended. In the event that this amendment is not adopted, the problem of the financing of the YPA will nevertheless not be constitutionally unresolved, he added, expressing at the same time disagreement with the previous assessment of Brovet that failure to accept the amendment would even threaten the YPA, the most important unified system in Yugoslavia, with disintegration.

After the final discussions, the members of the LCY Central Committee adopted the conclusions on the tasks of Communists in connection with the changes in the SFRY Constitution, which were expounded by Ljubomir Varoslija, chairman of the working group for their preparation. He assessed that the working group basically had an easy task because all the participants in the discussion supported the proposed conclusions, and he identified the most important as being the addition to the conclusions relating to the controversial amendment on financing the YPA.

This is a very important political issue on which there is as yet no agreement, and which should not be put off any longer, Varoslija said and proposed the addition to the conclusions, which was accepted. The LCY Central Committee calls on Communists to energetically advocate that differences be overcome on this. This is also expected, he noted, of the delegates of the assemblies of the republics and provinces and the SFRY Assembly. The LCY Central Committee insists that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the changes in the constitutions of the republics and provinces be adopted within the envisaged deadline.

This marked the conclusion at 2300 of the 18th session of the LCY Central Committee, held as the continuation of the 3-day marathon session at the 17th plenum of the top party forum. The debate at both sessions effectively lasted more than 40 hours, and more than 150 members of the LCY Central Committee took part in the discussion and the ripostes.

Draft Amendments Presented

LD2110221788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—At its 18th [as received] session, held on 19 October 1988, the LCY Central Committee discussed the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and established the following:

Conclusions [subhead]

1. The LCY Central Committee stresses that the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution have created the opportunity for significant constitutional changes to be carried out within the envisioned deadline which will contribute to a most successful struggle being waged for the further development of socialist self-management, implementation of the economic and political reform, and a faster solution to the crisis. It is particularly important that the proposed changes have been laid down in a democratic atmosphere, with patient, creative work and through coordination with the appropriate institutions.

The changes proposed in the socioeconomic system are deeper than any other measures and most far-reaching in terms of their significance. Among other things, they represent a break with dogmatism and conservatism in the way some important questions of socialism's development in our country are viewed.

The changes proposed in the political system and in the relations at the federal level are also important, although they are not as profound and radical as the changes in the socioeconomic system. This is particularly true since the changes in the economic sphere, provided they are consistently carried out, will also contribute to a more efficient functioning of the political system and to a more efficient implementation of the functions of the federation.

The quality of the proposed changes has been improved significantly in comparison with the solutions incorporated in the draft constitutional amendments, thanks to the public discussion on the draft amendments, which was extensive and creative, and which has produced many proposals, which by and large have been incorporated into the proposed amemdments. The public discussion has demonstrated that social awareness about the need to carry out a radical economic reform as the essential condition for the way out of the crisis had grown. The LCY Central Committee notes that the LC members, organizations, and organs successfully fulfilled the tasks established at the 12th session of the LCY

Central Committee and that the ideopolitical commitments of that session had in many respects contributed to the evolution of the public discussion.

The LCY Central Committee noted that the amendments did not incorporate several significant proposals arising out of public discussion relative to the political system and to the relations in the federation, either because they had not been studied well enough, because they impinge on the basic constitutional principles, or because controversial views on them exist, with the result that the work on the study of these proposals and the coordination of the stands must continue. This refers especially to the proposals to introduce the Chamber of Associated Labor in the SFRY Assembly and to a different constitutional regulation of the way the SFRY Presidency is elected and of its responsibility. It also refers to the proposals to abolish the sociopolitical chambers and the Presidencies of the socialist republics and of the socialist autonomous provinces, to improve the communal system, to secure a standardized educational and school system, etc. The differences which have not been overcome on these issues are linked with the different assessments of the nature and of the range of the proposed constitutional changes as a whole. This, however cannot be the reason to underestimate the significance, the extent, and the substance of the proposed changes. In particular, this cannot provide an excuse for a negative attitude toward the constitutional amendments as a whole, which represent a great success for our society in their effort to further improve and develop our system.

2. By and large, the proposed amendments concern the implementation of the conditions to carry out the economic reform and to eliminate etatist-bureaucratic and other deformations in the system of socialist self-management democracy.

They broaden the scope for self-management initiative and responsibility to rationally use social resources, boost motivation for better and creative work, ensure consolidation of self-management democracy and responsibility in the economic and political sphere, and contribute to the emancipation of associated labor from etatist-bureaucratic tutelage. Of particularly great importance are the changes which make possible much greater compliance with economic laws. These changes also make possible the freedom and independence of associated workers as commodity producers to become organized along self-management lines for the purpose of boosting their business and to decide, in keeping with these laws, on the use and management of the social reproduction resources as social capital, encouraging self-management pooling of labor and resources and investment of resources in private ownership held by people at home and abroad, and on expanding the overall scope for the development of private and cooperative property in keeping with the agreed policy. These changes will create the conditions for the consolidation of self-management production relations, for etatist power to be pushed aside faster at all levels, and for more rational and intensive economic operations. The changes in the manner decisions are made in associated labor, in the electoral and the delegate system, and the changes which more consistently and accurately lay down the jurisdiction of the organs of the federation in the legislative, executive, and judicial sphere are also very important. The proposed changes are an expression of the widespread conviction that the way out of the crisis cannot be sought in the redistribution of etatist powers between the republics and provinces on the one hand and federal administration on the other, but in the respect for economic laws, in the democratization of the political system, in its rationalization and in the deregulation which will lead to the emancipation from etatist normativism. [federal power to pass universally valid legislation] The well-formulated stipulations implicit in the amendments, especially in the sphere of socioeconomic system, are the result of this thinking.

The LCY Central Committee notes that the ideopolitical thrust of the proposed changes is along the lines of the strategic commitments of our society and of the LCY on the development of socialist self-management and on the establishment of the Yugoslav federal community on the basis of full national equality, and along the line of the decisions of the 13th congress and the LCY conference positions.

3. Proceeding from the LCY confererence decisions the communists are duty- bound to make the greatest effort and to show full readiness to contribute to democratic coordination, as well as in the concluding phase of the procedure to change the Constitution, especially on the remaining uncoordinated proposals established by the Commission for Constitutional Matters.

The LCY Central Committee is of the opinion that the amendment on the manner in which the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] is financed is the most important political question on which full agreement has not yet been obtained. The solution of this question cannot abe delayed. Proceeding from that, the LCY Central Committee requires the communists in the republican and provincial assemblies and in the SFRY Assembly, and expects from all delegates, that they vigorously strive to obtain agreement on this amendment in order to secure stable and sure sources of financing for the YPA. The LCY Central Committee insists that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the constitutional changes in the republics and provinces be adopted within the envisioned dealine in the manner established by the SFRY Constitution. Any delay in adopting the amendments should essentially render difficult and even jeopardize the economic reform and entail unforeseeable political consequences.

With the adoption of constitutional amendments, our society creates new and essentially more favorable conditions for the struggle to overcome the economic and political crisis. The LCY and other organized forces are duty-bound to make the necessary effort so that we can enter this struggle as well-prepared as possible. To attain this objective the LC must fight for the development of the appropriate social awareness and attitude toward the amendments and the changes they offer.

The confrontations in our system's institutions with regard to the range of amendments and the attitude toward their implementation must also be eliminated. Unless the constitutional amendments are applied consistently, and unless the economic reform is successful, the conditions for strengthening reciprocal trust and the foundations for elaborating the new Constitution cannot be created. Proceeding from this, we must work to place an objective and realistic value on the significance of the amendments and for consistent implementation of the changes which they impose. In these assessments we must proceed consistently from the criteria established at the 12th LCY Central Committee session.

The LCY Central Committee stresses that the effects of implementing the amendments do not depend on their content alone, but also on the self-management and political mobilization of the working class and of all working people so that they can exploit their new opportunities to free themselves from the statist-bureacratic monopoly, for self-management emancipation of collectives as autonomous, economically responsible producers, free to operate on the market, and for more rational business operations, self-organization, and so on. The conditions for this are not favorable in the growing crisis because the inertia of statist relations and ideological dogmas is still overwhelming, and many economic factors seek a way out of financial and other business difficulties and losses in the measures taken by the state. The changes will inevitably entail many problems, especially in connection with the abandoning of labor-intensive economic operations and changes in the economic structure. The substance of these changes must be clarified ideologically and politically, and resistance to new constitutional solutions, which are motivated with the defense of one's current position and partial and group-ownership interests, must be suppressed.

During implementation of the constitutional amendments, the struggle for the system's efficiency must on no account be set against a struggle for the development of socialist self-management production relations. The system cannot be efficient unless self-management production relations are built. The solutions proposed in connection with the delegations, the electoral system, the status of work organizations, basic organizations of associated labor, and so on, are along the line of the rationalization and increased efficiency of the system. However, these changes do not have that objective, nor must they pose a threat to the basic production relationship and therefore also the right of the workers to set up basic organizations of associated labor in their work organizations to introduce the most efficient control and influence on their incomes. This is why the changes must not be interpreted as a change in the concept of our system whose essence is that the number of the workers and the working people directly participating in the decision-making process should be as high as possible.

In the establishment of technocratism in organizations of associated labor, and in financial and other institutions which are trying to exploit the changeover to market economy, the danger of making a fetish of the market and of strengthening their own power must not be neglected either. The struggle against this danger can be successful only if conducted within every organization of associated labor in order to strengthen the role and the position of workers, and also to strengthen socialist self-management production relations. The role which the trade unions and communists in the organizations of associated labor must play in this respect is great and irreplaceable.

All this requires intensified LC action to clarify the new constitutional solutions and to get rid of fear and the concept of etatist-bureacratic models; we must correct the mistaken notion that new solutions are moving us away from socialism. Strong motivation by working people is required to become organized and to operate in every work organization and socio-political community as independent and responsible subjects of economic operations and of decision-making, because in this way alone can they be trained to resist all anti-self-management manifestations. To attain this, a democratic transformation of the LC must be carried out without delay which will then train the LC membership, organizations, and organs for the new method of operation. A reasserted, powerful, and independent working class organization of the trade unions is also required, which will be fully free of the transmission role in relation to the LCY and of the subordinate position in relation to the administrative organs.

In ideopolitical action, the LCY must assert the contribution which the proposed constitutional reforms will make to the implementation of the indispensible reforms in our economic and political system, but must at the same time remove the illusions that the constitutional changes will automatically make these reforms possible, and will have a beneficial effect on placating the crisis. Such illusions would lead to the constitutional changes being discredited. For this reason, comprehensive preparations are required for the application of new constititional solutions. It is particularly important that in socio-political communities and in associated labor, these preparations concentrate on the cadre and organizational training for operations in the conditions of market forces, and that all working people be fully briefed on the substance of all economic reform measures and mobilized for their implementation.

5. Proceeding from the LCY conference decisions, the Central Committee urges that in the organs empowered by the Constitution to do so, the initiative should be launched as soon as possible to formally prepare the new SFRY Constitution. The preparation of this proposal

should be preceded by the most intensive and comprehensive professional and political work possible so that successful activity on the implementation of this task becomes possible. To attain this, the greatest possible number of scholarly, professional, and public workers must be involved, and all the experience and the results from the work done so far by the Commission for Institutional Matters made use of, so that they can serve as a basis for the preparation of the proposal to tackle the elaboration of the new Constitution.

The LCY will involve itself as a matter of priority on the formulation of the political platform for the involvement of the Communists in the process of the formulation of the new Constitution and on surmounting the ideopolitical differences concerning the prospects of our constitutional development in which the objectives and the impact of this document will be defined. In doing so, the LC proceeds from the ideopolitical orientation that this is not a radical change of the foundations of the system of socialist self-management, but primarily the need to make the constitutional text more consistent in view of the great number of amendments, and to free it from normativism and provide the answers to remaining questions. No doubt the essential element of this platform must be the commitment that the current line of changes in the socioeconomic system not be abandoned, but worked out more consistently and that all remaining parts of the system are coordinated as consistently as possible. All this means that in tackling the work on the new text of the Constitution, not all questions are or can remain open from the ideopolitical point of view. All the possibilities do, however, remain open for the formulation of better solutions along the line of consolidating and developing the achievements of our revolution and of socialist construction along self-management lines. The possibilties also remain open along the line of as successful an implementation as possible of the strategic commitments of our society concerning socialist self-management, the delegate system, the federal system, the all-people's defense and social self-protection concept, and our nonaligned foreign policy.

Popovski Addresses Assembly

LD2210014688 Belgrade TANJUG In English
2111 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 21 (TANJUG)—The primary goal of the proposed changes to the Yugoslav Constitution is the removal of those constitutional solutions that pose an obstacle to social and material development, President of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Dusan Popovski said today.

Addressing the members of the assembly chamber in charge of the constitutional changes, Popovski, who heads the Commission for Constitutional Changes, said the changes should create a basis for surmounting the present social crisis in Yugoslavia and the necessary reform of the country's economic system.

Popovski's address in the assembly chamber opened a debate on the 34 amendments that are to replace, abolish or supplement 135 articles (one-third of the text) of the 1974 Constitution.

The amendments prepared by the commission on the basis of results of the public debate and the opinions of the republican and provincial parliaments will, in case they are adopted by the chamber, be sent for adoption to the assemblies of the six Yugoslav republics and two provinces. The constitutional changes are to be proclaimed on November 29, the 35th anniversary of the Yugoslav (?Republic).

The proposed constitutional solutions offer a radical break with the concept of the so-called agreed economy and voluntaristic and statist interference in economic trends, Popovski said. He stressed that the consciousness had definitely prevailed in Yugoslavia that without the action of economic laws it is not possible to ensure rational and effective productivity. [Word indistinct], he said conditions would be created for the fast opening of the Yugoslav economy to the world and its inclusion in the processes of development, the transfer of technology and the international division of labor.

The proposed changes will provide the greater participation of delegates from the economy in the work of the Federal Assembly. In future, more than half the delegates in the two chambers will be from the economy, while formerly they accounted for 40 per cent at the most.

Speaking of extending constitutional freedoms and rights of the Yugoslavs, Popovski mentioned the right to strike which has so far not been regulated under the Constitution.

Popovski recalled that during the work on the constitutional changes, accord was reached that the Republic of Serbia, which is the only republic comprising two autonomous provinces, should have equal state powers and functions as the other Yugoslav republics. Popovski said that the agreement reached on this issue was important not only for Serbia, but for the stability of the country as a whole.

He said that the proposed changes, with regard to the relations in the federation, in no way encroach upon the the existing constitutional concept of Yugoslavia. They actually determine more precisely the rights and obligations of the federation and ensure a more efficient system of implementing federal laws and other general acts.

The major novelties in the Yugoslav Constitution are the greater affirmation of individual labour, greater precision in the definition of the market-plan relationship, the obligation to set up a larger (?number of) candidates for posts of responsibility in state organs and the broader democratization of the (?electoral) proceedings for the collective state leadership.

Popovski also said that under the new constitutional changes, the post of Yugoslav party chief will not, as previously, entail membership in the collective state presidency, and obligatory consensus in adopting provisions and enactments was no longer necessary.

At the end of his address, Popovski mentioned the discord that arose in the commission concerning certain proposed solutions. He said that the commission members had not agreed on five proposed solutions.

As the procedure for the change of the Yugoslav Constitution requires the accord of all federal units, solutions that are acceptable to all must be sought, or the five controversial issues will be left out of the draft amendment.

The five mentioned solutions, relating to settling the relations within the federation, the responsibilities of the federal organs and financing the Yugoslav People's Army, were not accepted by the Republic of Slovenia which assessed them as "encroaching on the sovereignty of its people."

The Slovenians are very sharply opposed to the new constitutional amendments, under which a "special sales tax on goods and services and other non-restricted sources" may be introduced for financing the Yugoslav People's Army. The Slovenian Constitutional Commission today assessed that the formulation could also allow for the introduction of an income tax for such a purpose, which would not be in the interest of Slovenia, the most developed of the six Yugoslav Republics.

Slovenians assess the possibility of such a solution as "changing the constitutional character of the Yugoslav Federation and relations inside it", in view of the fact that income tax is an integral part of the sovereignty of each Yugoslav Republic.

At its session on Wednesday [19 October] the Yugoslav party leadership also called that efforts be invested for stands to be coordinated on the constitutional changes.

The LCY session stands announced today assess the amendment to the method of financing the Yugoslav People's Army as "the most significant political question on which agreement has not yet been reached", and note that "the resolving of such a question cannot be postponed."

The party leadership insists that the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution be adopted prior to the set deadlines, stressing that every postponement would impede and even threaten the economic reform and lead to "unforseeable political consequences."

Right To Strike Considered

LD2110110688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Workers' right to strike is envisaged in the extension of individuals' and citizens' constitutional freedoms and rights. In his introductory report at today's Federal Chamber session, President of the SFRY Assembly Dusan Popovski spoke about amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution. The right to strike would be realized under conditions laid down in a federal law. This law would also take into account the obligations stemming from the international movement on economic, social, and cultural rights. The SFRY ratified these obligations.

Debate Ends

LD2110221888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber this evening ended its examination of the proposed amendments to the Yugoslav constitution, which should be adopted tomorrow.

Working bodies, individual delegates, and groups of delegates submitted 25 amendments to amendments and the chamber voted to seek the stand of the Constitutional Commission on 20 of them before the final vote.

The Constitutional Commission should again examine the proposals to restore the previous name of Kosovo and Metohija to Kosovo Province, to expand the bases of the tax system, as well as the proposal that the SFRY Presidency should be responsible to the SFRY Assembly, that the Council of the Federation should be abolished, and others.

The Chamber did not vote on the amendment on the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army because Dusan Popovski, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, said a generally acceptable solution is still being sought.

Amendments Adopted

LD2210163188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly this evening adopted, with three abstentions, the amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia which will be sent to the assemblies of the republics and provinces for their agreement. If all the republics and provinces accept the amendments, the constitutional changes will be proclaimed on Republic Day [29 November]

The "package" of 34 constitutional amendments includes a coordinated solution for the stable financing of the Yugoslav People's Army, which remained contentious right up to the last minute.

The adopted changes to the Constitution of Yugoslavia will, it is assessed, make an important contribution to overcoming the social crisis and to the self-managing development of society.

More on Content of Changes

LD2210223888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly this evening confirmed and adopted 34 amendments to the constitution of Yugoslavia which, it is stressed, will mean entering into a new stage of the struggle for overcoming the economic crisis.

The chamber also adopted a constitutional law for implementing the constitutional changes.

It was assessed that it is vital to begin drawing up a new Yugoslav Constitution and that, by the end of the year, in the framework of the Yugoslav SAWP, it should be established which of the constitionally established organs will submit a proposal for the preparation of a modern constitution more suitable to the level of development that has been achieved.

In this respect, the chamber concluded, there can be no departure from the bases of the system founded on the development of socialist self-managing democracy, on the federal system and respect for the equality of the nations and nationalities, on social ownership and the power of the working class.

Pointing to the fact that in the democratic discussion that which was common and essential for further life, work and development together had been found, president of the chamber Stjepan Novakovic stressed that it had been shown that this society is capable not only of surviving but of changing, of embarking on changes which will contribute to all, for a better life. It is with much optimism, following this decision, that we look at the tasks which lie before us in the near and more distant future, said Novakovic.

The confirmation and adoption of the amendments began late this afternoon, as soon as the Constitutional Commission had reached a coordinated solution on financing the Yugoslav People's Army, which has been a matter of contention since the very beginning of the work on the constitutional changes.

The commission did not accept the majority of the amendments to the amendments which were put forward the previous evening with the support of the Chamber, because unanimity could not be achieved on them.

The Chamber accepted the proposal of its president, Stjepan Novakovic, that each proposed amendment should not be established separately, after which the Chamber established the text of the amendments as a whole, with five abstentions. One hundred and seventy-four delegates voted for the proposed amendments. No one was against.

The whole package of amendments was adopted with three abstentions. No one voted against, and 174 delegates voted for it.

The adoption of the amendments was followed by applause, and then a constitutional law for the implementation of the amendments was adopted unanimously. [passage omitted].

According to the solution which was accepted by Slovenia, and which the Chamber adopted, in the case of an upset in its financing, resources for programs of the YPA will be able to be ensured by the introduction of a special turnover tax and other specific sources by federal law. If it is essential, other taxes will also be able to be introduced in the framework of the bases of the tax system and up to a percentage level established by the social plan.

The adopted amendments establish the song "Hej, Sloveni" as the Yugoslav national anthem. The abolition of the council of the Federation is envisaged on 1 January 1991.

According to the amendments there will no longer be a representative of the LCY in the SFRY Presidency, and its members will in the future continue to be elected by the assemblies of the republics and provinces. Candidates will be proposed by the SAWP of the republic or province following decisions beforehand in the Yugoslav SAWP.

The SFRY Assembly will have the right to call for the dismissal of a member of the SFRY Presidency before the expiration of the period for which he was elected.

The regulations on the composition of the Presidency and the right of the Assembly to call for the dismissal of members will be applied, in keeping with the law on the implementation of the amendments, from 15 May next year. [passage omitted]

YPA Party Presidium Rejects Vasilevski Remarks

LD2110172488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—At today's session the Presidium of the LCY Organization Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) examined the duties of the members of the organization and organs of the LCY in the YPA in regard to the implementation of the unanimously adopted conclusions and tasks at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The discussion, as reported, pointed out among other things that the reports of the LCY Central Committee members from the YPA were well-received by the Army and social public, and that they faithfully expressed the mood and unanimous support which communists and other members of the YPA are giving to the efforts of the LC and other organized socialist forces of society in their resolute implementation of the three reforms, more efficient breaking of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and necessary cadre renewal in line with the adopted orientations for the purpose of the overcoming of serious economic, social, and political situation in society. Within this context the Presidium dissociated itself from a part of the speech of Colonel Dr Vojislav Vasilevski at the 17th LCY Central Committee session which may lead to conclusion that in the SR of Slovenia the human rights of the YPA members are allegedly threatened and that the other "southerners" are threatened with extermination.

At the same time the Presidium stressed that some public media that carried excerpts from the Vasilevski speech tendentiously interpreted what he had said in connection with the trial of Tomo Bogataj. It was pointed out that Vasilevski was not a member of the LCY Central Committee, but that he attended the session in the capacity of a member of the Statutory Commission of the LCY. Vasilevski bears personal responsibility for the stands he put forth and it is completely without foundation to abuse these stands or use them to make accusations against the YPA, especially as the above part of the speech had been condemned and was the subject of strong reactions by Communists in the YPA and the Army members in general, it was said at the session of the Presidium.

'Party Opportunists' Deprived of Military Protection

LD2210171888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav generals are far from thinking or intending to employ the Armed Forces in an arbitration process to deal with the existing political difficulties, the Yugoslav daily BORBA writes in a commentary.

In a summary of the speeches delivered by the top Army personnel at the recent 17th party Central Committee session, BORBA writes today that the "Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) have made clear that they will not guard a sclerotic bureaucracy and incompetent party opportunists who have occupied all parts of the country alike".

According to BORBA, at the meeting which was expected to produce historic decisions, the Army representatives displayed a "high degree of judiciousness and latitude, much more than many civilian members of the Central Committee."

The commentator is explicit that generals do not intend to squeeze politicians out of Yugoslav politics as is sometimes speculated. He also points to tendencies among localistic politicians "who would like the Army to help install regional interests".

In this context BORBA cites a statement by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary of national defence which says that "all attempts at changing the constitutionally established character of the YPA (Yugoslav People's Army] had been energeticaly rejected", and that these pressures boiled down to the fact that "certain republican assemblies practically wished to have their own armies." BORBA cites a statement given by an official from the Republic of Slovenia which says that a conflict exists between the people of Slovenia and the YPA.

BORBA cites Veljko Kadijevic that "demands for the regionalizing of the YPA are repressive" and that their fullfillment "would bring about the militarization of the republics and would be an added argument in internal disputes."

BORBA substantiates the YPA leadership's objective and critical assessment of the political turmoil in the country by recalling that the YPA generals warned the party top three years ago of the urgency for the undertaking and working out of a strategy for solving the crisis. Kadijevic, Mamula and Simic requested party reforms a year ago but were criticized of having arbitration ambitions, recalls BORBA.

The YPA's basic message is that things cannot continue this way, concludes BORBA and cites General Mamula that "The people's dissatisfaction revealed through the rallies, is not an eruption of unbridled behaviour, but an objective political reality created by the intertness of institutions and the non-functioning of the system."

'Immediate' Tasks Outlined at 17th Plenum

LD2310213088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0706 GMT 23 Oct 88

["Immediate Tasks and Activities of the LCY for Overcoming Unfavorable Political, Ecnonomic and Social Situations in the Country—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The primary socioeconomic and political tasks, and also an important prerequisite for the implementation of reforms, are halting the rise in inflation and gradually reducing it, reviving production and implementing development programs, the futher growth of export, urgently improving the financial situation in the economy, and halting further drops in the standard of living, and improving it.

In keeping with the functioning of market laws the current economic policy must be efficient, and must take into consideration the realistic problems and demands of associated labor.

Communists need to resolutely strive for all-embracing economizing and rational use of social resources in addition to a radical reduction in all costs, especially a reduction in state and general administration, official domestic and foreign trips, the number of official vehicles, and various celebrations.

At the 13th LCY Congress and LCY Conference, unanimous agreement was reached on the need to implement radical reforms in the economic and political systems and for the democratic transformation of the LC. Agreement was also reached on a prerequisite for overcoming the crisis, proceeding from a need to observe market and economic laws and to more effectively open up the system of socialist self-management. However, after the LCY conference, and especially after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, the economic and political situation rapidly deteriorated, resulting in increased dissatisfaction among the working class, working people, and citizens due to the exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo, the further weakening of their financial situation, and the impoverished economy. Because of this, the LC and other subjective socialist forces urgently need to take specific action to resolve the justified demands of workers and citizens and the key problems of our society, proceeding from the basic orientations of the 13th congress and the stands of the LCY conference. Ideopolitical work should strengthen the awareness among working people of the need for reforms, for specific and organized action by all social forces, should ensure the consistent and all-embracing preparation and realization of reforms and also the realization of the LCY positions on Kosovo, while establishing the responsibility of all those who fail to carry out their duties. The breaking of bureaucratic opposition to the more rapid development of production forces, the successful overcoming of present difficulties, to transformation in the development of our society, and to the consolidation of stability and unity in the country, in its prestige and position in the world can only be achieved through the broadest mobilization and involvement of the LC, the working people, youth, and intelligentsia in the united front of all organized socialist forces and all institutions of the self-managing system.

In order to introduce more radical changes with regard to the realization of the stands of the LCY conference and to overcome the unfavorable political, economic and social situation, the LCY Central Committee endorsed at its 17th session, held from 17 to 19 October 1988, the following immediate tasks and activities:

1. The Central Committee binds all communists in authorized organs of the federation, republics, and provinces, especially in the SFRY Assembly and in the FEC, to step up to the maximum activities which will ensure, by the end of the year and on the ideopolitical basis of the stands of the LCY conference and the orientations of the constitutional changes in the SFRY, all-embracing changes in the economic and political system and in the economic development policy which should be implemented contemporaneously and in correlation. It is necessary to carry out certain checks in the practice of individual systemic solutions and thus create conditions for the implementation of economic reform from the beginning of 1989. In addition to this, the LC will strive to ensure the efficient functioning of the market and full observance of economic laws, consolidation of independence, responsibility of economic subjects, and an increase in overall social efficiency. It is necessary to manifest greater resolve in the restructuring of the economy in keeping with the demands of the domestic and foreign markets.

On this basis, prospects will be opened up for the young generation to ensure greater creative participation in the realization of the reforms, the development of production forces, and socialist self-management.

Through its ideopolitical activity the LC must ensure political conditions and an appropriate social climate for the implementation of the economic reform, and mobilize all the creative forces oriented to the reform. Communists must resolutely overcome dogmatic and technobureaucratic phenomena in their own ranks and in society, as well as opposition to the approval and implementation of the reform.

The LC members in organizations of associate labor, in sociopolitical communities, and in the entire social superstructure must strive to pass decisions urgently and carry out necessary cadre, programatic, technological, organizational, and other preparations which will ensure greater efficiency in economic activity on the basis of new economic-systemic solutions. Communists in appropriate institutions of the political system should resolutely strive for the coordination of stands on open questions in the economic system.

2. The Central Committee stresses that primary socioeconomic and political tasks—which are also an important prerequisite for implementing the reforms—are halting the growth of inflation and gradually reducing it, reviving production and implementing development programs, the further growth of exports, urgently improving the financial situation of the economy, and halting any further drop in the standard of living and improving it. Communists and all socialist subjective forces must vigorously take the urgent necessary measures in organizations of associated labor, in municipalities, provinces, republics, and in the federation to ensure the realization of these tasks. In keeping with the functioning of market laws, the current economic policy must be efficient and elastic, taking into consideration the realistic problems and demands of associated labor, and consistently realizing the orientations of the 13th LCY Congress and the stands of the LCY conference. Communists should resolutely strive to free the economic developments from unnecessary state control, and ensure the independence of economic subjects and their business initiative in economic activity.

In line with the consistent realization of the essence of the economic policy applied after 15 May 1988, it is necessary to critically assess the effects of the measures taken and the need to change the existing ones, or take additional measures for the consistent realization of the adopted economic policy.

Communists and all subjective factors in organizations of associated labor and in society as a whole need to strive resolutely to economize at all levels and use social resources rationally, radically reducing all, especially nonproductive, costs under full social control. This particuarly refers to cuts in state and general administration, overhead costs, costs of representation, official domestic and foreign trips in the country, the number of official cars, various celebrations, and other similar costs.

Comprehensive economizing and more rational use of social resources also refers to all organs of the LCY, from the municipal committees to the LCY Central Committee. Within this context, by the end of 1988 these organs must produce specific programs for the realization of economies and rationalization, for deprofessionalization of political work, for a reduction in the professional apparatus and, on this basis, a reduction in LCY membership.

Communists in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations must, by the end of 1988, revise the organization and work method of the organs responsible to them, especially administrative organs, so that conditions can be created for the creative professional and efficient work of all organs, and so that specific programs can be introduced to rationalize and streamline work organization, to provide more extensive training, and reduce the total number of workers in these organs, including the number of members of executive organs.

Communists in all self-managing organs, delegate assemblies, and self-managing interest communities must, through their activity, ensure that decisions are passed as quickly as possible with regard to improving the position of economy by means of distribution and unburdening the economy through tax reduction and contributions, restoring immobilized funds to the economy, restricting general and joint, especially extrabudgetary consumption within the framework of the established policy, on which the authorized organs should regularly brief the working people and the entire public, bearing full responsibility for it.

Communists should launch the initiative to revise existing tax policy and the accountancy system in authorized organs, especially the system of revaluation, and to assess in a critical manner the credit-monetary policy from the point of view of implementing the anti-inflation policy.

It is necessary to consistently implement the programs for the financial consolidation of the economy and banks, especially in economically insufficiently developed republics and in Kosovo, to more efficiently resolve the exacerbated and serious problems of domestic indebtedness, illiquidity, dubious accounts, deficit, and the financial reorganization of the economy as a whole, above all on the basis of the development of those organizations of associated labor which have a future.

The Central Committee stresses that organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities must take urgent measures and action to halt the drop in real personal incomes, ensure greater economic motivation of workers and, in keeping with this, carry out changes to the law on restricting the growth of personal incomes.

Bearing in mind the serious consequences of drought, communists, organs and organization of the federation, republics and provinces, municipalities and associated labor should energetically take urgent measures to stabilize the production market and the prices of basic foodstuffs. Communists must be more resolute in the consistent realization of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee concerning the development of agriculture.

Communists in the municipalities, cities, provinces, republics, and the federation must resolutely strive to protect the standard of living of the most threatened part of the population by means of benefits, subsidies, concessions, and other measures, for the regular supply of basic foodstuffs to the population, and to eliminate the major problems in this area. Municipalities, provinces, republics, and the federation should provide funds for it.

The Central Committee binds all Communists in the SFRY Assembly and in the assemblies of republics and provinces to launch an initiative for the urgent, all-embracing and critical assessment and the establishment of responsibility of individuals and all authorized executive organs and other subjects, in keeping with their role in the system, for failure to take adequate measures and action for the realization of the goals and tasks of the economic and development policies in 1988, especially in the sphere of inflation and prices, and on this basis to take appropriate measures, including cadre changes.

3. It is necessary to resolve more efficiently current social problems and consistently implement the social policy as the basic element of development and economic policy, and as an important factor in the development of production forces and the security of working people. On this account the LCY Central Committee demands from the members, organizations and organs of the LC to fully involve themselves in municipalities, provinces, republics the federation, and in all organizations of associated labor so that as quickly as possible they can produce and implement all-embracing, realistic, and effective programs of social policy for the social protection of working people and citizens. These programs should ensure the consistent implementation of distribution according to the results of one's labor and the realization of the principle of socialist solidarity and reciprocity in present conditions.

In order for these programs be implemented, realistic and stable sources of funding must be ensured, giving them priority over the needs, in keeping with the established standards of the level of protection and solidarity, from municipalities to the federation.

Communists in the trade union federation, in the Socialist Alliance, and in other sociopolitical organizations, local communities, municipalities, provinces, republics, and in the federation have an important role and responsibility with regard to establishing and implementing the program of social policy and protection.

4. One of the most important tasks of the LCY and of society as a whole is the creation of constitutional-legal foundations for the economic reform and for the reform of the political system. Proceeding from this, the LCY Central Committee will assess at the 18th session the ideopolitical essence of the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, and in light of the stands of the 13th congress and the LCY Conference, establish specific tasks of communists in authorized institutions and in their further work on coordinating questions and adopting amendments. Efforts should be made so that this can be completed by the end of November this year, and the LC should also strive for the more effective realization of established solutions.

5. The LCY Central Committee stresses once again that the consistent and successful implementation of the stands of the 13th congress on the consolidation of unity and fellowship in Serbia is very important for the political stability not only of Serbia, but of Yugoslavia as a whole. Appropriate solutions in the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution are an important contribution in this direction. The ideopolitical essence of the draft amendments to the Serbian Consititution, which the Serbian Assembly adopted and submitted for public debate, is in keeping with the orientations and stands of the 13th LCY Congress and of the LCY Conference on relations in Serbia, bearing in mind that specific solutions should be the result of the public debate as well as joint work within the framework of the institutions of the system. These solutions should be adopted through a constitutionally established procedure for changing the Serbian Constitution. The LCY Central Committee is striving for those constitutional changes which will ensure that as a state and as a self-managing community, Serbia performs the necessary functions on its entire territory, and also that one consistently realizes the essence of the autonomy of the provinces which form part of Serbia and are constituent factors in the federation. Communists should strive for an ideopolitical approach through public debate on these draft amendments, and for the urgent coordination of stands within the framework of authorized institutions, especially as the differences are not such that they cannot be overcome by joint efforts. Communists should strive for the adoption of changes to the Serbian Constitution within the establishment deadline, because this is very important for reducing political tension.

The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium bear the largest responsibility for the elimination of causes of disunity, especially differences in interpreting the uniform policy between republic and provincial leaderships and its realization; for the establishing of the ideopolitical and action unity in the LCY; for the functioning and consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, and the establishing of responsibility for failure to implement it; and for the organization of action that will be conducted unanimously in the entire LCY. It is necessary to consolidate the unity of the LCY Central Committee, its political authority, and its efficiency of action by involving its members in the implementation of the stands of the LCY Central Committee and the Presidium, as an important prerequisite for the ideological and action abihty of the LCY as a whole. It is the duty and responsibility of the LC Central Comittees of republics and the LC provincial committees, and also the committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], in keeping with the established policy and principles of democratic centralism in the LCY, to strengthen the unity of the LCY and undertake all ideopolitical activities for halting unfavorable trends and stabilizing the situation in their own environments and in the country as a whole.

The ideopolitical measures of responsibility vis-a-vis individual members and executive-political organs as a whole must be resolutely applied for failure to implement the policy of the LCY and the stands of its highest organs and for opportunistic attitudes toward their implementation.

The LCY Central Committee binds the LC Central Committees of republics, the provincial committees, and the LCY organization in the YPA to assess by the end of the year their own activity and responsibility for the realization of the stands of the 13th LCY Congress and the development of LCY unity, and on this basis to carry out necessary cadre changes in their own ranks and in the ranks of its executive-political organs, and also to brief the LCY Central Committee on the above.

The LCY Central Committee charges the LCY Presidium to examine by the end of December 1988—in the order of its choice, and in keeping with the stands of the LCY conference and the established operational program of the LCY Central Committee—the current issues of the policy and economic situation, the ideopolitical activity of the LC of republics and provinces and the organization of the LCY in the YPA and its organs, as well as the manifested ideopolitical differences and phenomena of disunity and confrontations between individual organizations and the LC leadership, and consequently submit these questions for debate in the LCY Central Committee.

7. [number as received] In keeping with the demands of the LCY conference for the consolidation of the ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY and the political authority and work efficiency of the highest LCY organs,

it is necessary to carry out cadre changes in the LCY Central Committee and LCY Presidium and their working bodies on the basis of uniform ideopolitical and statutory criteria and the establishment of responsibility of members of the LCY Central Committee for the realization of the policy established at the 13th LCY Congress. In addition to this, one should proceed from the assessment of contribution to the struggle for consistent realization of the LCY policy, for the realization of social and economic reforms, the reform of the LCY, the LC policy with regard to resolving the national issue, contribution to the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and confidence in the LC membership and organizations.

It is necessary to consistently apply the criteria of the LCY cadre policy on separating the functions of the LCY Central Committee members from the most responsible professional functions in organs of state power; management and executive organs; executive organs in the federation, republics, and provinces; and organs of other sociopolitical organizations in the federation, republics, and provinces.

In the process of cadre renewal and the election of new members of the LCY Central Committee, the highest LCY organ should include more communists from direct production, and scientific workers and other creators and communists among the young people who stand out in their struggle for social and economic reforms, for the consolidation of unity and the democratic transformation of the LCY, and who enjoy the reputation and trust of the members even outside their environment in the struggle for national equality.

Changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee are carried out in the way which is established by the LCY Statute, respecting the established procedure and role which the LCY Central Committee, the LC provincial committees, and the committee of the LCY organization in the YPA have in the process of the candidature and election of members of the LCY Central Committee.

On the basis of assessments on the performance and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a collective organ and its individual members with regard to the realization of the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress, the stands of the LCY conference, the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee session, the assessments of justifiability and argumentation for criticism on the part of the LCY organization concerning the activity of individual members of the Presidium, and on the basis of views and assessments of the LC Central Committee presidia of republics and provinces and the committee of the LCY Organization in the YPA, the LCY Central Committee passed a number of decisions on changes to the composition of its Presidium which ought to contribute to a more effective performance of this organ in the more resolute and united realization of the polity of the LCY and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee.

8. The Central Committee notes that the most immediate and urgent task, in keeping with the stands of the LCY conference and within the framework of preparations for the 14th LCY Congress, is the organization and stepping up of work on the ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre transformation of the LCY.

The LCY Central Committee binds the LCY Central Committee Presidium to submit, by the end of November 1988, a proposal for the basis concept for the preparation for the 14th LCY Congress.

Proceeding from the stands of the LCY conference, proposals and demands by indiviudal organs and organizations of the LCY, at the end of the year and on the basis of the assessment of the political and economic situation in the country and the assessments on the realization of the stands of the LCY conference on necessary reforms in the economic and political systems and changes to the content and method of the performance of the LCY, the Central Committee will decide on the time to hold the 14th LCY Congress.

The LCY Central Committee is setting up a commission to prepare initial guidelines for the transformation of the LCY, its task being the organization of detailed research on the present method by which the LC fulfills its role, and which should submit to the Central Committee the proposals for the reform of the LCY by the end of January 1989.

9. The LCY Central Committee assesses that despite the many activities of organs and organizations of the LCY, the situation in Kosovo and the political and security situation in the whole country has worsened in all essential aspects following the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

The increasingly serious and further worsening of the situation in Kosovo is vitally conditioned by insufficient efficiency, opportunism, and other weaknesses in the work of state organs and other institutions of the system, and above all by weaknesses in the work of the LC and other sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo. The LC organs have not succeeded in initiating the broadest political action among working people and citizens, nor have they consistently, or in an open, communist way or in good time taken measures of differentiation in the LC and in other institutions of the system for the implementation of the stances of the ninth LCY Central Committee session, which for the most part should be applied as a constant and lasting task. The LCY Central Committee considers that the greatest responsibility for the worsening of the situation in Kosovo and for the nonimplementation of the aims of the LCY on key issues, is borne by the current LC Provincial Committee of Kosovo and its

Presidium. For these reasons the LCY Central Committee, in accordance with Article 53 of the LCY Statute, warns the LC Provincial Committee of Kosovo and its Presidium and instructs them to establish the individual responsibility of their members for the nonimplementation of established tasks, and to take all measures in keeping with the stances of the 13th congress and the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo for the stabilization of the situation in this province.

The activity of the Serbian LC Central Committee and its Presidium, although markedly increased in the period following the ninth LCY Central Committee session, also has not borne the necessary results, above all because of differences between the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo Provincial Committee in their assessment of the political situation in Kosovo and methods of activity. The organs of the Serbian LC are dutybound to undertake—consistently making use of statutory possibilities, on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism—all essential measures for the effective implemention of LCY policy on Kosovo, for the instruction of the Kosovo LC and for its activity as a constituent part of the Serbian LC and for the comprehensive integration and development of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo as an indivisible part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. For the consistent and effective implementation of established policy these organs should take all the constitutionally envisaged measures and they should bear political responsibility for this.

The LCY Central committee assesses that the LCY Central Committee Presidium is responsible for not having fought to create a climate and conditions in Kosovo for the stances of the ninth LCY Central Committee session to become a basis for specific action to change the situation, and for not having fought in good time to overcome increasingly great differences in the assessment of, approach to, and resolution of the situation in Kosovo, particularly between the organs of the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC.

For the reasons stated, the LCY Central Committee directs a criticism against its Presidium and obliges it to undertake all essential measures and activities for the consistent and comprehensive implementation of LCY stances on Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee also directs criticism against those of its members who have not once, in the period from December 1987 to June 1988, made a visit, in accordance with their duty, to the municipal LC organizations in Kosovo.

The Presidium will subsequently consider the activity of the Republican LC Central Committees, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, the committee of the organ of the LCY in the YAP, and the work of communists in the competent organs and organizations of the federation in the implementation of LCY policy on Kosovo, and will adopt a stance on this and propose it to the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will resolutely and without delay undertake all vital measures for the realization of established policy, will ensure greater coordination in the work of its members, the members of the LCY Central Committee, and the working bodies of the organs of the LCY, and its greater activity. The direct involvement in municipal and other organizations in Kosovo will act to mobilize LC members, working people, citizens, and young people from the ranks of all nations and nationalities for the implementation of established policy.

The overall activity of the LC will as a matter of priority be orientated particularly in the following two directions:

—to involve all ideological and political forces in the LC and other sociopolitical and social organizations in the widening of the united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo on the LCY platform, in the framework of the Socialist Alliance, who will act energetically to stabilize intranational relations, and to overcome as rapidly as possible the distrust and divisions along national bases that have spread to the LC itself;

—To ensure, by all constutionally and legally envisaged resources, the full legal security and safety of ctiizens in Kosovo, and their freedom and equality; to mobilize to this end all forces and organs in the SAP of Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and Yugoslavia, including an even greater joint involvement of the security organs and other state organs in every environment, particularly in those environments from which emigration is continuing and where intranational relations are continuing to grow more strained; to more resolutely continue the struggle for the instruction of the institutions of the system, particularly in Kosovo, in the protection of constitutionality and legality, and for more rapid ideopolitical differentiation, including cadre renewal and accountability for all holders of self-managing sociopolitical and state functions upon whom the implementation of these tasks depends, and to ensure a more rapid stabilization of the overall situation in Kosovo. Responsibility must be concrete and direct, both for the nonimplementation of one's own tasks and for failures by organs of which one is a member;

— involve the corresponding social, specialist, and other organs and institutions in halting the demographic population explosion in Kosovo, in which respect this issue should be approached without any politicization and in the framework of creating conditions for the most favorable life and outlook possible for the people in the SAP of Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee obliges communists in the SFRY Assembly and the FEC to undertake in the shortest possible time all constitutionally envisaged measures to extend assistance to the corresponding organs in the SAP of Kosovo and the SR of Serbia for establishing the full legal security and safety of all citizens in Kosovo and their property, whereby the essential conditions should be created for actions of a long-term character in the economic, social, cultural, and every other sphere.

10. Communists in the SAWP, the trade unions, the Federation of Socialist Youth, and other social organizations must be most active in the struggle for the all-round involvement of working people and ctizens, for the class, revolutionary, and socialist self-managing character of political action that strengthens the unity and cohesion of the Yugoslav community. Communists must be in the forefront of such actions, which are undertaken because of the serious situation in Kosovo or other burning problems in society. The basic orientations for socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and other achievements and values of our revolution are strongly manifested at the many solidarity meetings and mass gatherings of working people and citizens that have arisen particularly after the 16th LCY Central Committee Session because of the especially difficult position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, in particular caused by the prolonged duration of unhalted counterrevolutionary activity by Albanian separatist nationalism, and because of the lack of success in overcoming the socioeconomic and political crisis. For this reason the LCY Central Committee demands that Communists, LC organizations, and organs should learn lessons from such gatherings for their own action, that they should struggle on a united platform in the framework of the SAWP and other institutions of the system in order to direct the increased dissatisfaction of working people and citizens with the serious position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, so that this dissatisfaction can be utilized as a stimulus for action to change the situation resolutely, effectively, and more rapidly.

The messages and demands of working people and citizens put forward at the meetings oblige the LC and organized socialist forces to take social action to resolve these complex social problems which are behind the mass expression of dissatisfaction.

The LCY Central Committee also warns of the presence of excesses and destructive behavior by individuals and groups at these meetings who are trying to inflame nationalist passions and act from anti-self-managing and antisocialist positions. The Central Committee demands that in such cases communists energetically oppose every such phenomenon, hostile slogan, and every other excess on the spot, and demands that the state organs responsible should take the corresponding legal measures against their proponents. The LC and other subjective forces, and particularly the organizers of meetings and protest gatherings, bear the greatest responsibility for eradicating such excesses, for uncovering them, and for not permitting their escalation, which could cause serious political damage and bring into question the very character of certain gatherings.

It is particularly important that the LCY work through political action to ensure that gatherings do not come about which could disturb intranational relations and threaten brotherhood and unity in individual multinational environments and in the whole of our country. All problems are common ones, and we can only resolve them successfully by acting together and in a united way.

The LCY Central Committee demands that communists oppose gatherings and meetings of citizens, in whichever part of the country, which are not organized by subjective socialist forces, but by individuals and groups who have pretensions and are attempting in an increasingly open way to present themselves as an independent political factor, acting outside the established policy of the LCY and legal self-managing and state organs and organizations, and resorting to political pressure, blackmail, and manipulation of people and their feelings in order to achieve their own goals.

11. Individual members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium have for some time been exposed to public criticisms and attacks on individuals and certain LCY organizations, particularly in connection with the realization of the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and 9th LCY Central Committee session because, as these criticisms state, they have contributed by some of their statements, by inadequate, untimely, and uncritical assessments of the situation in Kosovo and opportunist attitudes in the implementation of the stances of the 13th LCY Congress and particularly the 9th LCY Central Committee session with respect to vital differentiation in the Kosovo LC organization, to the weakening of confidence, to an increase in the public manifestation of differences, and to the further exacerbation of intranational relations in Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee considers that public criticisms and calls for accountability of officials and leaderships—when they are based on well- argued facts and truths—are a component of democratic relations in our society. In all cases of argued criticism, LC organs and forums whose members are held in question are duty-bound to institute proceedings to establishing their responsibility. However, the Central Committee obliges communists to struggle consistently to separate justified criticisms calling for accountability from unjustified attacks and public criticism by name based on slander, insults, and attacks on personal integrity, and from a one-sided interpretation of public statements by individuals in a part of the media. Members, organizations, and organs of the LC are duty-bound to react in an energetic way to every unjustified attack and lack of respect for democratic rules of behavior, taking specific measures against the proponents of unjustified attacks and calling for protection from such attacks.

The LCY Central Committee will conduct a discussion on the extent to which criticisms of members of the LCY Central Committee are justified, and will inform the LCY Central Committee on its findings and proposals.

12. In recent years attacks on the character and work of Josip Broz Tito have become more frequent, and with this, attacks on the accomplishments, values, principles, and aims of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution.

These attacks are in their essence reactionary and anticommunist, and represent a denial of our revolutionary path and the results we have achieved, a denial of socialist self-management and its emancipatory character, of brotherhood and unity, and full equality of our nations and nationalities, of the avant-garde role and legitimacy of the LCY, and of the independent international position and the nonaligned policy of the SFRY.

Communists and LC organizations are duty-bound to oppose in an argued and energetic way and in good time, all attacks in every environment. Expressing the feelings and convictions of working people and citizens, it is necessary for creative people to make their contribution in the framework of historical science, journalism, and the media by uncovering the ideopolitical essence and aims of these attacks.

Opposition to the attacks on Tito and on the revolution should be a component of the continuing ideopolitical activity and struggle of the LC for the all-round evaluation of Tito's work and our socialist system, its achievements, contradictions, and aims, and for the further creative development of the Yugoslav socialist revolution. To this end ineffectiveness should be resolutely removed in the implementation of the strategic directions of the development of society, and the socioeconomic crisis should be resolutely overcome.

13. The LCY Central Committee orders the membership, organizations, and organs of the LC to wage a resolute struggle to implement the policy of national equality and to resist in an uncompromising, organized, and united way the growing wave of nationalism in all environments, its breakthrough into the LC and certain institutions of the system, and the growth of antisocialist and anticommunist attacks on our revolution, on the LCY, and on the social system. In every environment where the proponents of such attacks announce themselves and attempt to legalize their ideology in the press, on certain platforms, in individual committees, and in other forums, the organs and organizations of the LC and communists are duty-bound to oppose such attacks by ideopolitical action and to uncover them politically, in an argued way. At the same time communists in the corresponding institutions are duty-bound to take all measures to prevent and eradicate such activities.

14. The Central Committee demands that its members and LC organizations and organs, in keeping with the decisions of the 13th congress and the stances of the LCY conference, uncover in good time and energetically eradicate the increasingly frequent attacks on the concept of all people's defense and social self-protection and on the YAP as the common armed force of all our nations and nationalities.

15. The LCY Central Committee demands that communists in the press and in all institutions of the media resolutely and immediately halt the practice of placing the press at the service of the unprincipled settling of accounts, manipulations, abuses, and the practice of tolerating other negative phenomena which escalated after the 16th LCY session, and which have serious ideopolitical consequences for the unity of the LCY and the country as a whole.

It is necessary for the whole public information system to ensure the comprehensive, objective, and timely informing of the public on events throughout the country, and for one-sided and selective information, partisan reporting and sensationalism, unprofessional reporting and monopolization, and every other abuse of the press to be resolutely eradicated.

The press should devote the greatest attention to the development and implementation of the stances of the LCY conference and should contribute fully to the realization of basic social aims, economic reforms, reforms of the political system, and the transformation of the LC and to efforts by the LC and organized socialist forces to overcome the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists in Kosovo and to create stable intranational relations on the basis of socialist self-management, equality, and security for all working people and citizens.

Communists in the media are called on to oppose resolutely the increasingly aggressive pressures from nationalism and anticommunism and to encourage activities and processes which contribute to strengthening the unity of the LCY and our country.

The central and provincial committees and the committee of the basic LC organizations in the organs and organizations of the federation, with the involvement of the basic LC organizations, are duty-bound to identify by the end of this year negative tendencies and phenomena in individual newspapers, to embark on ideopolitical activities for their elimination, and to initiate measures of accountability.

The LCY Central Committee entrusts the Presidium with the duty of analyzing by the end of this year the activity of the 'KOMUNIST' publishing house and newspaper, and taking essential measures for the united activity of the 'KOMUNIST' publication in the implementation of LCY policy.

16. On the basis of these immediate tasks and activities, the LCY Central Committee obliges all communists, LC organizations, and organs to determine specific tasks

and to initiate resolute action in all institutions of the system, in delegate assemblies, associated labor, self-managing, local, and other communities and organizations, for their consistent realization, thereby contributing to strengthening the ideological and action unity of the LCY and the political consolidation of the country and to the successful implementation of social reforms. The LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium will resolutely involve themselves in implementing these tasks.

Belgrade LC Head 'Satisfied' With 17th Plenum

AU2110174088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] The 17th LCY Central Committee session continues to be at the center of interest. We may be satisfied with the basic results of this Central Committee session, because it has created the conditions for strengthening unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia and for realizing the planned tasks of the LC of Serbia as regards the economic and political reform.

This was stressed by Rados Smiljkovic, president of the City Committee of the LC of Belgrade, in his talks with those employed in the Ikarus and Galenika plants in Zemun.

LCY CC Plenum Session Reviewed

LD2310182188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 23 Oct 88

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—The recent three-day session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) has left no one indifferent and has shown how strongly the Yugoslavs feel about a long crisis which has hit their country and which is fraught with very dangerous consequences.

The conviction is rife that there is not the least manoeuvring room left for any delay in implementing radical social reforms and dealing with the effects rather than the causes of the deep social crisis. As a result, the "alliance of reform forces" which emerged from the past plenum will have to work hard to remove all the systemic and ideological obstacles in the way of overcoming the crisis.

It is probably general agreement on the need for an urgent and efficacious implementation of the announced three reforms—which appears to have been reached in spite of some differences noticeable at the 17th session—that should be seen at present as one of its more important results. Interest of the top party forum seems to be shifting in part from dangerous conflicts and confusion to the crucial task of reforming crisis-ridden Yugoslav socialism through joint efforts, while preserving its revolutionary foundations and the integrity of the country.

It has become obvious that none of the three reforms—economic, political, and of the League of Communists itself—is possible without a radical cadre renewal. In order that the document unanimously adopted at the session may truly become a "charter of reforms," the League of Communists as the leading political factor must open the door wide to an all-embracing democratic social transformation, without hesitating to disown all the obstructionists and incompetent leaders.

Although exceptionally important, the decision to replace over the next three months one-third of the LCY Central Committee members and to do likewise with the top republican and provincial party leaderships is only the first step towards a final "divorce of the party and the state" and the establishment of responsibility as one of the main principles of public social commitment.

If there is an earnest wish for reforming the League of Communists as a prerequisite for all other changes in society, which was the reason for setting up a commission for the transformation of the League of Communists, the party should above all "open the window and allow it to be seen in what century we are living." Federalized as now, with outdated methods of activity and ossified theoretical interpretations of reality, it is a source of conflicts and divisions and not an ideological force of change towards modern society.

The plenum carried without debate a motion to accept the resignations submitted by four members of the LCY Central Committee Presidency—Bosko Krunic, Kolj Siroka, Milanko Renovica and Franc Setinc—while postponing for the 19th Central Committee session a discussion on possible responsibility of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic for the situation in Kosovo Province. But the most dramatic moment of the past plenum came with a secret vote of confidence in the remaining ten permanent members of the Presidency. This unprecedented move of principled moral value, taken without any specific obligation under the statute, may be of great positive significance for the future activity of all, not only party leaderships.

However, the ballot which resulted in a vote of no-confidence in Dusan Ckrebic, one of the two League of Communists of Serbia representatives in the LCY Central Committee Presidency, brought a new controversy and opposite views at the session, ranging from a warning by Vinko Hafner from Slovenia about possible consequences of a confrontation on the vote, to the view expressed by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Presidency from Macedonia, that it meant "defeat of a republic and victory of an unprincipled coalition." This paved the way for different interpretations of the vote. Already the next day it was clear that a section of the public was dissatisfied with the outcome of the ballot, others saw it as meaning something else, while still others had expected much more of the debate on responsibility in Kosovo, which is by no means an irrelevant matter.

On the whole, however, one should not overlook the findings of an opinion poll on the results of the 17th session to the effect that "these people cannot do more than they did" and that "only new people can do it." After all, if the introductory report at the 17th session noted that the Central Committee and its Presidency "are failing the examination of implementing the positions of the 13th LCY Congress," then the plenum had indeed to be taken as their last chance for a make-up exam.

Commentary Assesses 17th LCY Plenum

AU2310171988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] As on many occasions before, it has once again been demonstrated that meetings of this kind do not alleviate political or social tensions. The last session has aroused anxiety as much as hope. It has aroused the hope that the direct tasks adopted at the session will indeed help in overcoming the current extremely unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country. It has aroused the hope that the reforms in society will indeed be approached with all of Yugoslavia in mind, the hope that Yugoslavia will become a strong federation, the hope that, as Stipe Suvar said in his concluding speech, the bureaucratic bastions would be deprived of their economic basis, that the power of politics will become the power of the workers, experts, and modern economy, the hope in a unified market, a unified approach to the strategic matters of development and unity in general.

The 17th session must also be given credit for laying a fairly solid foundation for the cadre changes in the the party leadership and for taking a positive stance toward constitutional changes, something that could speed up the process of solving the Kosovo problem. The hope is there.

In his concluding speech, Stipe Suvar said that the Central Committee cannot solve the problem of inflation, Kosovo, and debts at one session or overnight. This is only the starting point for the reform which puts the LC at the head of the movement for social changes and the renewal of socialism, he said.

However, there is as much anxiety for these changes that are promising a better life as there is hope. We are anxious about our past experience; there have been many such starting points in our recent history. What was always missing were the finishing touches, results, achieved aims, and better life.

The anxiety also stems from immeasurable opportunism which is almost becoming a tradition in our political practice. It stems from antagonism among party leaderships who are sometimes trying to make people quarrel among each other. It comes from the hypocrisy in political activities, from political bureaucracy which, in order to retain power, disparages even the most progressive ideas. Winning a battle against such conservative and bureaucratic forces is the first condition for implementing reforms and for overcoming the crisis, because this crisis is in its essence and above all a political crisis.

The anxiety and hope were also caused by the outcome of the vote of confidence on the LCY Central Committee Presidium members. The hope comes from the fact that such a method of public appraisal and assessment of the leading people will become a practice in the LC at all levels. Anxiety stems from the fact that instead of firm communist principles, with which such an act should be guided, regional political interests would again be expressed as happened at the 17th session.

When Vasil Tupurkovski, who reacted quickly to the outcome of the voting, noted that the lack of support for Dusan Ckrebic was an act of an unprincipled coalition, initially one could think that these words were a result of great emotion. The doubt was, however, removed by Stipe Suvar in his conversation with foreign journalists. I explain this by the fact that probably the majority of the Central Committee members identified Crebic with the prominent exponents of a political line which did not appeal to all Central Committee members, Suvar said.

In light of this explanation it is clear why it was the representative of the Serbian LC in the highest party executive organ that paid for this. It is also clear why the plenum insisted on holding a vote of confidence on the ex officio members of Presidium.

However shocking it may be, this outcome could have been expected. In other words it is understandable why the coalition was formed on the platform of resistance to the policy which is in favor of eliminating bureaucracy, futile political practice, and those hindering changes in society. Those who were justifiably criticized by the public in Serbia for this kind of behavior indeed cannot like the essence of this kind of political line.

Both anxiety and hopes after the 17th session are after all only subjective feelings. The objective value of the plenum is the final document and the speeches of those Central Committee members who, not being burdened by the shadows of the past, spoke on behalf of the future. Their words are of the kind that broaden horizons, offer ideas, and strive toward real changes in both the LC and society as a whole.

Krunic Explains Resignation in Letter

AU2310203788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 88 p 5

[Letter received by BORBA from Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on 10 October]

[Text] We individuals are least important in the crisis which we are now going through. However, people who hold responsible posts are, for understandable reasons, being increasingly exposed to public criticism, something that is in itself a good sign of development in democratic life. I am writing you because of the events that are occurring on the other side of democratic life and responsibility.

For 4 months the media has been zealously reporting on what has been said, mentioned, or written on banners about numerous officials and organs at various meetings. My name has often been mentioned in a negative context in many different ways. Of course, all of us who hold public posts can be criticized for our work and behavior, and we are obliged to contribute to the full truth about ourselves and our work. I probably have not done this sufficiently, and I am ready to publicly render accounts in various ways.

In my irrevocable resignation as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, I stated as the reason—along with the feeling of objective responsibility for the sluggishness and inefficiency in the functioning of the Presidium and other organs on overcoming the acute problems in society—the fact that I was hindered in performing responsible functions because of serious defamations and accusations which have nothing in common with rendering accounts and do not reflect the real state of affairs, and were often pure slander. By being repeated all the time, these accusations and slander become accepted by the broadest public as the truth, or at least create a doubt on the lines of the old proverb, "where there is smoke, there is fire."

The most frequently mentioned, written and shouted accusations are those involving the very widely used word: "thief." I am not the only one who was branded by this dishonest qualification. Therefore, I would, first of all, like to state that among my possessions and real estate there is nothing that could in any way cast doubt upon my moral integrity. I own a 32 square meter holiday house on a small plot of land on Fruska Gora mountain; I drive an old car (Zastava 128), and this is all. There are no other houses, swimming pools, valuables, jewelry....I do not have foreign currency, or a foreign currency account, nor a significant amount of savings. I have something between 30,000 and 40,000 dinars in my current account with the Investment Bank of Novi Sad.

On several occasions I have publicly said that in my view the property of all officials should be subjected to a control, or a check by state organs. This would include all income and all benefits. I said that everything should be unveiled.

There were also rumors and reports that I used some credits in Pristina (Kosovo Bank) under suspicious circumstances. This filthy insinuation was immediately followed by the banner: "Down with the state protected bank robbers," a banner that invariably carried my name. You published this banner in your paper. I do not criticize you—it is up to you to correctly report on what is happening. The authenticity of these insinuations has been checked and the LCY Central Committee Presidium has been informed about it. A man who lives on his personal income, even a politician whose income is not that small and has never been a secret, cannot have anything that could cause suspicion. Moreover, my children were not educated abroad; I do not travel abroad (excerpt the three trips abroad as president of the Presidium, trips that were made on the basis of the Presidium's decision as part of the LCY international policy); I do not know anything about or have any connection with the so-called "pig affair" in southeast Srem (banner: "The director of pig affair"). The list of insinuations is too long to mention everything in this letter. Or for instance, people openly say that my parents were kulaks, while I come from a poor family, and I am proud of their honesty. Or, some newspapers reported: "While the people were holding protest meetings he went hunting in Deliblatska desert" [Northeast Serbia]. I have never been a hunter. Some poorly written humoresques and slanders such as "There is rumor here, there is rumor there," have also been written. There are also unfounded rumors about secret meetings between us and people from the "developed part" of the country in some villas on Fruska Gora mountain, and so forth. All this is being done with the purpose of spreading Orwellian hatred. The French say: One good reason is better than several. In the absence of this it appears that the aim of persecution is persecution (!) and that there is no end to this practice....I do not expect anything better after this letter either. However, the circumstances are such that I cannot remain silent. [signed] Bosko Krunic

Kucan Reacts to Human Rights Committee Statement

LD2110221288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Radovljica, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Speaking at the consultative meeting of Slovene trade union activists today, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, recently strongly to the latest announcement by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights. What happened was that the "statement" said, among other things, that the committee will not allow the four people sentenced at the Ljubljana Military Court trial to leave voluntarily to serve their sentences. The committee announced that it will organize demonstrations and protest meetings when the defendants receive the summonses to report to begin serving their sentences.

At this juncture, the committee demands do not appear reasonable to me, and at the precise moment, too, when the whole of Yugoslavia has begun to be aware of the importance of strengthening the authority of the legitimate organs in our society in a dramatic way. The committee calls for disobedience by holding a meeting as a sign of support for law not to be obeyed. Is it possible to insure democracy in our society and the democratic path of development with calls to be disobedient and not to respect the law? Or can this be done by consistently respecting the law, which is in the interest of the overwhelming majority of our people? The assessment of the law's validity or application cannot be a matter for the individual, but for the legitimate institutions of society, especially the courts and assemblies. I do not understand the incessant demands and ultimatums to individual legitimate institutions at a moment when confidence in them has gone up and when, at the same time, the threat of suspension by a yielding to the demands for the introduction of a state of emergency [vanredno stanje] still hangs over them. Is it really possible to speak of and invoke the legal state and in the same breath to urge nonacceptance of the law? I particularly do not understand it now, when the Assembly of the Slovenian SR, as the highest organ of authority and self-management of the state of the Slovene people, has set up a commission the task of which is to establish not only the legal and professional aspects of the proceedings, but also the political circumstances in which the trial was conducted.

Are the demands of the committee not, in effect, an a priori expression of doubt in the work of the assembly and the devaluation of its authority at the very time when the assembly is facing decisive problems and when it will have to declare itself on constitutional changes? Is this sort of activity by the committee a contribution to the way out of the crisis, a quest for adequate solutions and the consolidation of the sovereignty of the Slovene nation? I do not think so, just as I think that this is not believed by all those who gave the committee their support in the belief that it was interested in matters of principle [words indistinct] This pressure introduces division and confusion among our working people and reduces the possibility of our asserting our will and interests in Yugoslavia and in our relations with others on an equal footing, and of our having the initiative we could and should have in this situation. As far as the LC is concerned, I am firmly convinced that in this respect it will work resolutely for the consolidation of the front of organized socialist forces and that it will support the activity of the delegate assembly and of other institutions of the Slovene state in asserting the clearly expressed will of the Slovene people and the inhabitants of Slovenia. In doing so, it will contribute to the consolidation of its legitimate institutions, that is, to the consolidation of their authority, said Milan Kucan.

Kucan Addresses Trade Union Leaders

LD2110223488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Radovljica, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee has been a good session. The essential thing is that some speculative forecasts expressed before its start were not fulfilled. Quite obviously, our joint concern for responsibility and for our future together has won, said Milan Kucan, President of the Presidium of the Slovenia LC Central Committee, when he spoke of the current sociopolitical and economic situation to the presidents and secretaries of the municipal and city Slovene trade union organizations during their consultative meeting in Poljce near Radovljica.

Kucan stressed that the 17th session clearly indicated that the Yugoslav communists wanted changes, that they did not want to live in fear and uncertainty, and that they did not want to lag behind the rest of the world. The session asserted the concept of the three reforms as the criterion to unite the LCY. It also affirmed the democratic path as the only way out of the crisis and rejected the inauguration of a state of emergency and the introduction of emergency measures. It confirmed the legitimate organs of authority and their way of tackling the solution of all existing social issues. Commitment to the affirmation of respect for the legitimacy of the system's institutions and for persevering in the processes of the three reforms came on top.

Kucan made the assessment that it was very clear and obvious from the work of the session that the LCY Central Committee took its responsibility seriously. Debate that tried to discredit certain people and the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was rejected. A principled attitude was victorious in this respect.

After everything that happened at the meetings, it was quite understandable that the question of confidence in Presidium members was raised because it was impossible to work under this burden.

We have a clear concept provided by the three reforms, but we still do not have the necessary and indispensable initiative. At this juncture, our biggest problem is, in fact, a crisis of initiative by both the LC and the progressive social forces for a way out of the crisis. In this respect, the 17th LCY Central Committee session is certainly a good omen for the future because significant progress was achieved in settling the problems of unprofessional work and voluntarism. The session in itself did not resolve anything, but it mapped out a very good way for the implementation of the solutions outlined.

Kucan made the assessment that the 17th and 18th LCY Central Committee sessions must be analyzed in depth.

Both sessions either opened up or closed down some paths, and pointed out on which points in this society, and on which political platforms, it is possible to establish alliances.

In this fairly restless, overheated, and frequently irrational situation, the 17th session was a victory of reason. The session was a good, and in many respects novel one in our political practice. It is significant that very few, and in fact, virtually none of the many very much-awaited speculations on what it would happen at it really came to pass. Our joint concern and responsibility for the future was victorious at the session, which was an expression of all our nations' and nationalities' responsibility for the future. It was demonstrated that no one is self-sufficient in this federal community, and that in asserting our interests one cannot fail to think of the consequences of one's actions for the position of others in Yugoslavia and for the understanding and reactions of other segments of the united LCY.

Milan Kucan particularly stressed that the report by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was open and that it pointed out visions for the development of all key points bringing together the reform problems.

In Kucan's assessment, the Kosovo drama was very much present during the plenum, and so was the question of the constitutional regulation of the status of the Serbian SR. The awareness of a need for the principled solution of this joint problem became dominant. It cannot be resolved unless all the inhabitants of Kosovo take part with equal commitment and effort, in which respect the communists must have the necessary initiative.

Speaking of the constitutional changes, Kucan stressed that some outstanding and as yet uncordinated issues still exist. He drew attention to the fact that the Constitution sets out the correct procedure for the adoption of constitutional amendments. The procedure is identical with the one with which the Constitution was adopted as the joint will of all the republics and provinces, that is to say with their consent. This procedure must presuppose that the republics will express both their positive and negative will concerning the proposed solutions, and not only their positive will and readiness. If that happens, the constitutional procedure, that is, the Constitution, cannot be blamed if a crisis has arisen in our society, Kucan said.

Ethnic Reaction to Decisions of 17th LCY Congress

Kosovo Group Postpones Hunger Strike

LD2110195188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 21 (TANJUG)—A group of 38 ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins from the Yugoslav province of Kosovo decided today in Belgrade to postpone the start of a hunger strike for Wednesday, 18:00 hours. The hunger strike would last until the provincial leadership had resigned.

The citizens from Kosovo, mostly students, arrived in Belgrade today with the aim of starting the hunger strike immediately. However, after talks with Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian parliament, they abandoned their original decision.

The reason for their coming to Belgrade is dissatisfaction with the results of the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY CC) which ended Tuesday evening. According to the group from Kosovo, the plenum did not come up with satisfactory answers for solving the situation in Kosovo and they warned that Albanian separatists and chauvinists are on the offensive and that the patience of the Serbs and Montenegrins is at an end which could result in their collective migration from Kosovo.

Since 1981, about 30,000 ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins have migrated from Kosovo.

Borisav Jovic assessed the group's demand for an overall solution within 24 hours as unrealistic and said that the Kosovo provincial leadership would not resign under such pressures, but that this could be achieved only through legitimate procedures. Jovic said that a joint session of the top bodies of the Leagues of Communists of the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Kosovo would probably be held next week and that a discussion on personnel changes would open at the session.

Jovic underscored that the 17th LCY CC Plenum had adopted the assessment that the Kosovo leadership was responsible for the situation in Kosovo.

Since the outbreak of counter-revolutionary demonstrations in 1981, Albanian separatists and chauvinists have been using terror in order to force Serbs and Montenegrins to migrate and so create an ethnically clean province with the ultimate aim of joining Kosovo to neighbouring Albania.

The leadership of the League of Communists of Serbia is duty bound to solve the situation in Kosovo stressed Jovic, adding that it would continue to insist on responsibility and resignations, and that from February 1989, with the adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, the republic's influence in Kosovo would broaden.

It was announced in Belgrade today that a meeting of solidarity with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in the capital, set for October 22, has been postponed. The date of the meeting will be decided later on.

In the Republic of Serbia and its northern province of Vojvodina three meetings of solidarity with the non-Albanian population in Kosovo were held today. Some 80 thousand participants in the meetings in the towns of Pozarevac, Velika Plana and Ruma expressed solidarity with the deprived Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, demanded an end to the Albanian chauvinists' and separatists' counter-revolution and stated full support to the leadership to persevere in their demands for the amendments of the republican Constitution.

'Several Thousand' Hold Meeting in Ruma

LD2110193788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Summary] Ruma, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—In the presence of several thousand people from Ruma and the neighboring Srem municipalities, a meeting of brotherhood, unity, and solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins and with the deprived people in Kosovo was held today in Ruma. A worker at the meeting said that the expectations of the 17th LCY Central Committee session were not met because the conclusions and decisions of the session leave open possibilities for different interpretations by national bureaucracies. This also means the conclusions and decisions may be applied in different ways. This meeting also called for halting the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and for preventing the counterrevolution. Telegrams were sent from the meeting to the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY Presidency.

Solidarity Meetings in Velika Plana, Ruma

AU2110173888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Just over 1 hour ago, a meeting of brotherhood and unity and of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and Metohija began in Velika Plana. Even cold and windy weather with rain did not prevent some 25,000 working people and citizens from coming to the meeting.

A meeting of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija is under way in Ruma. It represents another request to prevent the counterrevolution and ensure a peaceful life for the non-Albanian population. In rainy weather, several thousand people from Ruma and Srem gathered in front of the Revolution Monument.

Solidarity Meeting in Pozarevac

AU2110180588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Here is a report on a meeting of brotherhood, unity, and solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins held in Pozarevac. Over 50,000 people gathered in Liberation Square, [name indistinct] reports from Pozarevac:

We are dissatisfied with the results that are being achieved against the counterrevolution. The situation in Kosovo is not good, and emigration continues. The burden of the struggle to stabilize the situation in Kosovo has not been distributed equally. This was stated by Miodrag Savic, president of the SAWP Communal Conference of Pozarevac at the opening of the meeting. He then went on to say:

[Begin Savic recording] We are raising our voice against all those who divide our country, trample upon the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and destroy the most brilliant achievements of our socialist revolution and postwar construction. [end recording]

Savic further said that the people of Pozarevac region support the changes in the Constitutions of Serbia and the SFRY, a unified Serbia as a precondition for a stable Yugoslavia, and the preservation of the prestige of the Yugoslav People's Army. After the 17th LCY Central Committee session, we must not allow the stances and conclusions to remain an empty promise, Savic stressed. He added:

[Begin Savic recording] We demand that the process of determining individual responsibility, begun at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, be continued. Without individual, personal responsibility, there can be no implementation of the three reforms—there is no way out of the overall economic, political, and social crisis, and no overcoming of the grave situation in Kosovo.

We demand, however, that the leaderships be responsible to their grassroots. The grassroots know best who is good and who should represent them. [end recording]

Bogoljub Stojanovic, a Pozarevac region partisan of 1941; and Kuzman Jeremic, president of the Kucevo Communal Assembly; Miodrag Stojimirovic, worker at the Kostolac industrial and energy combine; Hamdija Redzepi, an ethnic Albanian, director of a cooperative organization in the Petrovac Commune; and Andjelka Djordjevic, a girl, also addressed the crowd.

Denouncing the behavior of Albanian nationalists and separatists, Redzepi called on all honest Albanians to ensure a peaceful and free life for the Serbs and Montenegrins. Let us add in conclusion that all the attacks on the revolutionary work and image of Comrade Tito were once again resolutely condemned.

Kosovo Council Calls For End To School Boycott

LD2410005188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo determined at today's extraordinary session that the 2-month boycott of classes by Serbo-Croat speaking students in provincial secondary schools may have extremely serious consequences. These consequences are already discernible and are having a negative effect, not only on education, but also on the political and security situation.

The council concluded that the boycott by students in secondary schools and higher education and by the lecturers at Pristina University should cease immediately. The council made an appeal to that effect. The competent educational organs, especially the lecturers, were called on to take a more active part in action that will lead to normal attendance of classes. It was said that to ensure greater security for students attending classes, the security organs stepped up preventative activity. Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, said the militia patrols will provide security for all problematic schools and will "cover" all major routes from schools to students' homes. Morina disclosed that 30 intranational excesses in which Serbs and Montenegrins were victimized were reported in the course of this academic year. There was one rape attempt, a mugging and an attempted mugging, 9 physical assaults, and 18 threats and various provocations. The majority of the perpetrators are students. A total of 11 criminal charges and 14 offense charges were brought against them. The most of the grievances occurred en route from school to home and the rest of them at school or on buses.

Morina considers that competent factors, especially those in schools, failed to act properly during the boycott. In his judgment, although there are justifiable reasons for boycotting classes, there are also individuals who are acting destructively and who are advocating further boycotts.

Veselj Ljatifi, provincial secretary for justice, sees this boycott as a method of attaining certain goals by exerting pressure on legal institutions. He did not explain the nature of the goals but noted that the Albanian nationalists and separatists involved children in the counterrevolutionary demonstrations of 1981. He asked how even after a 2-month boycott, not one of the lecturers has been subjected to legal or any other measures although, as he observed, there are grounds for criminal charge. He said; "There is at least one teacher in every school" advocating the boycott and in his view this activity should not be tolerated just because of a fear of public gatherings. Tomislav Sekulic reacted to this remark and criticized Ljatifi for speaking about the consequences while ignoring the causes of the boycott. It is not only activity by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists that is at issue, added Sekulic, who said he realized that Serbs and Montenegrins cannot accept their previous position in school. He warned against dictates by the majority but also resented determinedly "the involvement of kids in politics." Jovan Begic Hevic, Skender Bosnjaku, Sakir Maksut, and Caslav Bojanic made similar remarks.

Bringing the debate to a close, Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Provincial Executive Committee, stressed that this executive organ would do its best to ensure that classes in schools and at the university start immediately.

The Executive Council decided today that the families of the two Kisnica miners killed in an accident should be given a one-time donation of 500,000 dinars each.

Montenegro Lifts 'Urgent Measures' in Titograd

*LD2310142888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1330 GMT 23 Oct 88*

[Text] Titograd, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro today lifted the urgent measures imposed to "prevent extraordinary circumstances" in the municipality of Titograd, where workers' and students' demonstrations broke out on October 8.

The protests, in which demonstrators demanded urgent reform and the overcoming of the political and economic crisis as well as the resignations of the Montenegrin leadership, were assessed by the republican party top as an attempt at putschist activity and the destruction of legal institutions.

The lifting of the urgent measures followed the conclusions of the republican Presidency that "measures taken in the meantime with the aim of removing dissatisfaction have contributed to the stabilization of the political-security situation."

The federal government has recently come under pressure from Montenegro as well as the other republics and provinces to reduce allocations from the economy for maintaining the unwieldy administration.

Along with the assessment that the political circumstances have stabilized and that the confidence of the masses in the ability of institutions to more successfully resolve the piled up economic, social and political problems has been restored, it is being pointed out in Montenegro that "the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists has strengthened."

In this republic the activity of separatists is particularly obvious in the border regions towards Albania, the republican assembly (?said in a) statement.

The most threatened are Serbs and Montenegrins who have for several decades now been moving out of the Province of Kosovo, pressured by the separatist activity of some ethnic Albanians.

Rijeka Bus Drivers End Strike

*LD2110152988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Summary] Rijeka, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—All the drivers at the public transport works in Rijeka ended their half-day strike after it was agreed not to suspend 15 colleagues who refused to operate the new ticket payment system on the buses.

Hafner on Novi Sad Strikes Commission Findings

*AU2110121488 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Report submitted by Vinko Hafner, member of the LCY Central Committee, on the findings of the commission set up to establish facts concerning the protest rally of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on 9 July, to the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, you were given the report of the working group which was drafted by the LCY Central Committee at the 16th session of 29 July. The task of this group was to establish the facts and recommend possible measures of responsibility in connection with the public confrontation among some members of the LCY Central Committee regarding the visit and protest meeting of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on 9 July of this year. The working group approved this report at its last session on 5 October of this year.

More than 3 months have passed since the event in Novi Sad and almost 2 months since our 16th session. Meanwhile many things have happened. By their political dimension and consequences these events have by far exceeded the event that took place in Novi Sad on 9 July, and have pushed it to the margin of public interest. I am referring to everything that has happened in Novi Sad and Vojvodina, all over Serbia, and other parts of the country between the last two sessions. Comparing all this with the (?first) event in Novi Sad and its political consequences, to which we paid great attention at the 16th session, today this event (?appears) only as a mild episode in the whole of the very important and in many ways controversial events in the LC and entire society.

The task of the working group and its report to the LC Central Committee should be seen in this light. In my speech I will point out some more significant circumstances and dilemmas that this working group encountered during its work. I will also provide necessary explanations for certain parts of the report, and shorten some things.

First: The circumstance under which this working group was set up at the 16th LCY Central Committee session of 29 July.

As you know, the discussion on the information about the activity of the Presidium regarding the events in Novi Sad was on the agenda on the second day of the session, at 0500 in the morning, when we were already tired from a 20 hour session on the realization of the conclusions of the ninth session on Kosovo. After the introductory speech by Comrade Korosec and a brief discussion, we adopted the Presidium's assessment and view, and condemned public attacks and slander on some members of the LCY Central Committee. At this session it was clearly demonstrated that neither the Presidium nor the Central Committee carried their work in full before. This means that they did not concretely call organs or individuals by name, and did not establish responsibility for (?damaging confrontations among its members.) A working group was set up to complete this work and in the discussion different views [passage indistinct].

Second: Defining the task of the working group [words indistinct].

The task of the working group was only broadly defined at the time this group was set up, which is to say the group was to establish the facts and possible responsibility of certain members of the LCY Central Committee members for the damaging confrontation among themselves concerning the Novi Sad events. After the 16th session, a portion of the LC members and the public built up expectations that the working group would come to this session with a long list of the LCY Central Committee and other LC leaderships members who did not respect the stands and recommendations of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and had gotten themselves into a damaging confrontation, not only regarding the Novi Sad events and [word indistinct] assessments of the citizens' protest meetings, but also regarding different views on the causes of the grave situation in Kosovo and the ways of solving it, on intranational relations and constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and both autonomous provinces, and even on the ways of overcoming the (?allegedly) crisis situation in the country and in the LC.

The working group (?was supposed) to establish the responsibility of all those members of the LC leaderships who were guilty, and recommend to the Central Committee [word indistinct] suitable ideopolitical measures, including expulsion from the LC and relieving people from their social posts.

The working group was not given this task, nor could the group do this. In examining the events in Novi Sad, the working group took into consideration other events that happened in society before and after this event. During the discussions in the working group some members of the LCY Central Committee and other responsible communists who recently took part in confrontations about various political issues were also (?named.) The working group nevertheless stuck to its task, which was to establish the facts and possible responsibility for confrontations among the members of the LCY Central Committee concerning events in Novi Sad on 9 July (?that went until) the 16th LCy Central Committee session on 29 July. This is why the report of the working group to the Central Committee will probably disappoint many of you in the sense that they are making a mountain out of a molehill. This would mean that our work was futile and thus irresponsible. We could not accept such assessments at all. The working group took its job very seriously right from the beginning. To some extent this is proved by the fact that we studied a voluminous amount of documentation and spent 10 full days on the working group's meetings. If there was any futile work, then the cause should be sought in [passage indistinct].

The views of the working group on this are contained in points 2 and 3 of the report. This primarily refers to the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee itself and its Presidium. Since we already established this at the 16th session, I am only repeating what I had said in previous discussions. The discussion in the working group could have established, on the basis of shorthand notes (?taken at the) session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 18 and 19 July, the extent of differences among the members of the Presidium, including the presidents of the republican Central Committee Presidiums and provincial committee Presidiums. This is where the essence of the problem in the work of our group lies.

The working group devoted the most attention to the responsibility of the directly confronted organs with regard to Novi Sad events. These are the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and the Provincial Committees of the LC of Vojvodina and Kosovo. This position of the working group could be questioned considering that it was given the tasks of establishing facts and individual responsibility of some members of the LCY Central Committee, and not the responsibility of the LC organs. The discussions about this event at the 16th LCY Central Committee session, and particularly within the working group, clearly demonstrated that, at least in this case, it is impossible to separate the responsibility of some communists from the responsibility of the LC organs whose members they are. During their discussion at the sessions of these organs, or in other public speeches, they did not just express their own views, but more or less expressed the standpoints of these organs, and received their support. Moreover, the Novi Sad event did not only result in damaging public confrontations among some Central Committee members, but also among the LC organs. For this they bear their part of collective responsibility, depending on their position and the actual part in these confrontations.

We in the working group fairly quickly agreed on the responsibility of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, proceeding from its bad attitudes and acts toward the arrival of and the protest by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on 9 July this year, to the subsequent public presentation of the majority of the speeches containing indeed biased and unsubstantiated accusations addressed to the Serbian political leadership that were delivered at a closed session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee on 13 July this year.

There were many more contrasting views and dilemmas in the working group during the discussion on establishing the possible responsibilities of the Serbian LC Central Committee and its Presidium as one of the collective participants in these confrontations.

From the very beginning the working group bore in mind the fact that this was the highest organ of the entire LC in Serbia and that it therefore needed to assess its participation in these confrontations and establish its responsibility somewhat differently.

After a comprehensive discussion, the working group agreed that there were no objective facts on the basis of which the group could establish a level of the Serbian LC Central Committee's responsibility that could be criticized or warranted a warning from the LCY Central Committee.

As far as the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is concerned, the working group has established that it was less directly involved in confrontations over the Novi Sad events, and that its entire responsibility for the current grave situation in Kosovo, and overcoming it, had already been thoroughly discussed at the 16th LCY Central Committee session, and at the end of this 17th session.

Five [as heard]: Establishing the responsibility of individual members of the LCY Central Committee.

This was certainly the main and, at the same time, most difficult task of the working group. It is known that it is not very difficult to establish the blanket responsibility of LC members and organs, and direct a sort of blanket criticism to them, and that it is so much more difficult to establish the specific responsibility of individual people and to pronounce a corresponding ideopolitical measure against them.

This time, according to the LCY Statute, the LCY Central Committee would have to name its individual members whose specific responsibility, that is, the degree of their responsibility, would have to be established by the working group. Since the Central Committee failed to do so at its session, it thereby made the task of the working group very difficult. Let me make a comparison with the working group which was set up today to establish the responsibility of Comrades Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic and, in a separate procedure, Munir Mesihovic. The essential responsibility of all of them by name and the demand to [word indistinct] that responsibility was already established today by the LCY Central Committee, while this had not been done in the same way in the case of our work.

The working group has established that a large number of members of LC organs took part in the mutual confrontations regarding the Novi Sad event, including several members of the LCY Central Committee. These confrontations have come to the fore in the various public speeches made by these members, and that was most conspicuous in their speeches at the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina on 13 July and the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia on 14 July. The working group has established with certainty the responsibility of a number of these people for the damaging consequences of these confrontations.

In assessing this responsibility, the working group proceeded from the essence of Article 30 of the LCY Statute—I will not read it now—and Article 49 of the Statute which says: An LC member is responsible for his public statement, and for the way he interprets stances and decisions of the basic LC organization and organs to which he belongs. The degree of responsibility of an LC member is determined by the degree to which he violates the Statute, his duties, and the office he holds in society and in the LC.

During the group's work, there were many contrary opinions about what it means to express an opinion at public sessions or sessions of the LC organs that were opened later. Is that responsibility, or is it not? We have agreed that it is responsibility, if such statements gain public importance and become grounds for confrontation.

During the initial debates, in particular, considerable differences appeared among members of the working group, both in assessing the motives, content, and consequences of these public confrontations, and in interpreting the above-mentioned statutory provisions as regards the establishment of the degree of political responsibility of individuals and the possibility of pronouncing specific ideopolitical measures.

Thus at the beginning we named a considerable number of LCY Central Committee members to whom criticism should be directed, or rather to whom appropriate ideopolitical measures should be handed down by the Central Committee. This number was whittled down from one session to another and at the end of our work, when adopting the report of the working group to the LCY Central Committee, unanimously and with full responsibility we adopted the stance that this report should not name anybody individually.

Such a stand by the working group could be considered our opportunism or the inconsistent performance of the duty entrusted to us. Nevertheless, when making your assessment, please take into consideration the following essential reasons that made the working group adopt such a stance.

First, having a considerable number of those people who took part in these confrontations in the present complicated political situation, it was really difficult to establish objectively the degree of political responsibility of individual people and suggest corresponding ideopolitical measures.

Second, some LCY Central Committee members whose responsibility for the harmful consequences of the mutual confrontations of that time was definitely established by the working group, have meanwhile submitted resignations from their social positions, so the working group did not consider it appropriate to open a public discussion on them again on the occasion of the debate on its report.

Third and most important, in the assessment of the working group the Novi Sad event is long past and has been eclipsed by many more important political events. Therefore, naming individuals responsible for the mutual confrontations of that time and a debate about them could only deepen and not reduce our previous disagreements. That means that it would not help strengthen unity and efficacy or responsibility even, but would divide us even more and divert our attention from solving the most important problems of recent times, which were in fact the subject of this 17th session of ours.

After all, it is well known which individuals they are, and the LCY Central Committee should consider this above all when it carries out the announced cadre changes in the Central Committee and its Presidium. There are facts in support of this in the documents submitted by the working group.

These, Comrades, have been some circumstances and views from which the working group proceeded in its work and when adopting its report to the LCY Central Committee. If you deem it necessary, I can give you further explanations.

Let me tell you in conclusion that it is with a feeling of grave responsibility and many dilemmas we parted after unanimously adopting our conclusion. We are aware of the fact that you can [word indistinct] us for our opportunism and inconsistency in establishing our real individual responsibility. However, this is what we have done and we are responsible for that. Thank you.

21 Candidates Named for Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency

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[Summary] Sarajevo, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidium of the republican conference of the SAWP of Bosnia-Hercegovina put forward the names of 21 prominent sociopolitical and cultural workers as candidates to fill three vacancies in that republic's Presidency. They are Dr Ljubomir Berberovic, Dr Slavoljub Banovic, Dr Radovan Milanovic, Rade Runjevac, Branislava Trivic, Omer Djug, Veljko Galic, Damjan Ratin, Zarko Primorac, Dzevad Hozo, Dr Juraj Martinovic, Muhamed Berberovic, Izet Mehinagic, Milan Skoro, Josip Bukovac, Nedjeljko Mandic, Borislav Krajina, Zivko Radiscio, Ugljesa Uzelac, Esad Horozic, and Dr Svetozar Zimonjic.

The three vacancies have arisen because three former Presidency members have retired. When the three vacancies have been filled the procedure will start to fill two more Presidency vacancies because two more members have become entitled to a pension. They will carry out their present functions as pensioners until the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been completed.